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JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

VOL. II.

PART THE THIRD.

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MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

Description of the Emperor's apartment.—Minute details of his toilette and dress.—Absurd reports respecting him.—Conspiracies of Georges and Cerachi.—Attempt of the Fanatic of Schœnbrunn.

April 1st—2d. All that is in any way connected with the Emperor Napoleon must be worthy of observation, and will be held valuable by thousands. With this conviction, I shall proceed minutely to describe his apartment, its furniture, the details of his toilette, &c. And, in course of time, may not his son one day take pleasure in reproducing these details, picturing to himself the appearance of distant objects, and seizing fleeting shadows, which to him will perhaps supply the place of reality?

The Emperor's own apartments consist of two chambers *A* and *B*,* each 45 feet long and 42

* See the plan of Longwood.

broad, and about 7 feet high. A very indifferent carpet covers the floor, and pieces of nankin, instead of paper, line the walls of both rooms.

The bed-chamber *A* contains the little camp-bed *a*, in which the Emperor sleeps, and the couch *b*, on which he reclines the greater part of the day. This couch is covered with books, which seem to dispute with the Emperor the right of possession to it. Beside this couch stands a small table *c*, on which the Emperor breakfasts and dines, when he takes his meals in his own chamber, and which, in the evening, bears a candlestick with three branches, surmounted by a large ornament. Between the two windows, and opposite the door, stands a chest of drawers *d*, containing the Emperor's linen, and on the top of which stands his large dressing-case.

Over the fire-place *e*, hangs a very small glass, together with several pictures. On the right is a portrait of the King of Rome sitting on a sheep, by Aimée Thiebault,—and on the left hangs, as a pendant to it, another portrait of the young Prince, sitting on a cushion and putting on a slipper. This picture is also the production of Thiebault. Lower down is a small marble bust of the King of Rome. Two candlesticks, two scent-bottles, and two cups of silver gilt, taken from the Emperor's cabinet, complete the arrangement and decoration of the chimney-piece. Lastly, at the foot of the couch, and directly in the view of the

Emperor when he reposes on it, which he does the greater part of the day, hangs Isabey's portrait of Maria Louisa, holding her son in her arms. This wretched little closet has thus become a family sanctuary. I must not omit to mention Frederick the Great's large silver watch, which is a sort of morning bell. It was taken at Potsdam, and it hangs on the left of the chimney-piece, beyond the portraits. The Emperor's own watch, which hangs on the right of the chimney, is the same that he used in the Campaigns of Italy; it is enclosed in a gold case, marked with his cipher B. These are the contents of the first chamber.

In the second room *B*, which serves as a sort of study, along the walls next the windows are several rough shelves supported on brackets, on which are scattered a great number of books, and the manuscripts that have been written from the Emperor's dictation. Between the two windows is a bookcase *g*, in the form of a book-case; and on the opposite side stands another camp-bedstead *h*, similar to the one already mentioned. On this bed the Emperor sometimes reposes in the day-time; and he occasionally lies down on it, when he rises from the other bed during his frequent sleepless nights, or when fatigued with dictating, or walking about alone in his chamber. Lastly, in the middle of the room stands the writing-table *i*, with marks indicating the places

usually occupied by the Emperor and each of us during his dictations.

The Emperor dresses in his bed-room. When he takes off his clothes, which he does without assistance, he throws them all upon the ground, if one of his valets happen not to be at hand to take them from him. How many times have I stooped to pick up the cordon of the legion of honour, when I have seen it thrown carelessly on the ground!

Shaving, which is almost the last business of the Emperor's toilette, is not commenced until he gets on his stockings, shoes, &c. He shaves himself: first taking off his shirt, and retaining only his flannel waistcoat, which he had laid aside during the excessive heat we experienced in crossing the line, but which he was obliged to resume at Longwood, in consequence of a severe attack of the cholic; from this, however, the use of his flannel waistcoat speedily relieved him.

The Emperor shaves in the recess of the window nearest the fire-place. His first valet de chambre hands him the soap and razor; and the second holds before him the looking-glass of his dressing-case, so that the Emperor may present to the light the side that he is shaving. It is the business of the second valet de chambre to tell him whether or not he shaves clean. Having shaved one side, he turns completely round to shave the other, and the valets change sides.

The Emperor then washes his face, and very frequently his head, in a large silver basin *f*, which is fixed in a corner of the room, and which was brought from the Elysée. The Emperor is very lusty; his skin is white, with but few hairs; and he has a certain *em-bon-point* which does not belong to the male sex, and to which he sometimes jokingly alludes. He rubs his chest and arms with a tolerably hard brush. He afterwards gives the brush to his valet de chambre, who rubs his back and shoulders, and when in good humour he often says, "Come, brush hard—as "hard as if you were scrubbing an ass."

He used almost to drown himself in *Eau de Cologne*, at least, so long as he had any at his disposal: but his store of this article was speedily exhausted, and as none could be procured on the island, he was reduced to the necessity of using lavender water; the want of *Eau de Cologne* he felt as a severe privation.

After he has had his back rubbed, or after he has finished shaving each side of his beard, he sometimes good-humouredly looks his valet in the face for a few seconds, and then gives him a smart box on the ear, accompanied by some jocular expressions. This has been construed by libelists and pamphleteers into the habit of cruelly beating those who were about him. We all in our turns, occasionally received a pinch or a box on the ear; but from the expressions which always accom-

panied the action, we thought ourselves very happy in receiving such favours during the period of his power.

This calls to my recollection, and explains to me certain observations which I once heard from the Duke Decrès, one of the Emperor's ministers. The Duke, when in the height of his glory and power, wished to obtain a certain favour from the Emperor. He was conversing with me on the subject, and after adverting to all his chances of success, he said: "I shall have it "after all, the first time I get roughly treated." And remarking that my countenance expressed surprise, he added with a significant smile: "But, "my dear fellow, after all 'tis not so terrible a "thing as you imagine; many would be happy "to receive such usage, I assure you." . . .

The Emperor does not leave his chamber until he is completely dressed. He wears shoes in the morning, and does not put on his boots until he rides out on horseback. When he first came to Longwood, he laid aside his green uniform of the Guard, and wore a hunting coat, the lacing of which had been taken off. This coat soon began to look shabby, and his attendants were at a loss what to substitute for it. This, however, was not the only inconvenience of the kind to which he was exposed. For instance, we were much distressed to see him reduced to the necessity of wearing one pair of silk stockings for

several days in succession; but he laughed whenever we expressed our regret on this subject, or remarked that it was easy to count the number of days the stockings had been worn, by the marks which the shoes had imprinted on them. In other respects he retained his usual dress; namely, waistcoat and small clothes of white kerseymere, and a black cravat. When he was going out, any one of the gentlemen who happened to be in the room presented to him his hat; that little hat which has in some measure become identified with his person. Several of the Emperor's hats have been carried off since we have been on the island; for every individual who approaches him is anxious to obtain some token of remembrance of him. How often have we been tormented even by persons of distinguished rank, to procure for them even a button of his coat, or any other trifle belonging to him.

I was almost always present at the Emperor's toilette: sometimes I remained after having finished my writing, and sometimes the Emperor desired me to come and chat with him. One day I was looking stedfastly at him as he put on his flannel waistcoat. My countenance I suppose expressed something particular, for he said in his good-humoured way of addressing me: "Well, what does "*your Excellency* smile at? What are you think-"ing of at this moment?"—"Sire, in a pamphlet "which I lately read, I found it stated that your

" Majesty was shielded by a coat of mail for the " security of your person. A report of the same " kind was circulated among certain classes in " Paris; and in support of the assertion, allu- " sion was made to your Majesty's sudden *em-* " *bon-point*, which was said to be quite unna- " tural. I was just now thinking that I could " bear positive evidence to the contrary, and that " at St. Helena, at least, all precautions for per- " sonal safety have been laid aside."—" This is " one of the thousand absurdities that have been " published respecting me," said he. " But the " story you have just mentioned is the more ridi- " culous, since every individual about me well " knows how careless I am in regard to self-pre- " servation. Accustomed from the age of eighteen " to lie exposed to the cannon-ball, and knowing " the inutility of precautions, I abandoned myself " to my fate. When I came to the head of affairs, " I might still have fancied myself surrounded by " the danger of the field of battle; and I might " have regarded the conspiracies that were formed " against me as so many bomb-shells. But I fol- " lowed my old course; I trusted to my lucky " star; and left all precautions to the police. I " was perhaps the only sovereign in Europe who " dispensed with a body guard. Every one could " freely approach me without having, as it were, " to pass through military barracks; the sentinels " at the outer gates being passed, all had free ac-

"cess to every part of my palace. Maria Louisa "was much astonished to see me so poorly "guarded; and she often remarked that her fa- "ther was surrounded by bayonets. For my "part, I had no better defence at the Tuileries "than I have here; I don't even know where to "find my sword; do you see it?" said he, look- ing about for it. . . . . "I have, to be sure," he continued, "incurred great dangers. Upwards "of thirty plots were formed against me: these "have been proved by authentic testimony, with- "out mentioning many that never came to light. "Some sovereigns invent conspiracies against "themselves; for my part, I made it a rule care- "fully to conceal them whenever I could. The "crisis most serious to me was during the interval "from the battle of Marengo, to the attempt of "Georges, and the affair of the Duke d'Enghien."

Napoleon related that about a week before the arrest of Georges, a petition had been delivered into his own hands on the parade, by one of the most determined of the conspirators. Others in- sinuated themselves among the household at St. Cloud or Malmaison; finally Georges himself seems to have been so near his person, as to be in the same apartment with him.

Independently of good fortune, the Emperor attributes his safety, in a great measure, to cer- tain circumstances which were peculiar to him- self. That which had doubtless, he said, contri-

buted to preserve him, was his having lived after his own fancy; without any regular habits or fixed plan. His vast occupations kept him much at home, and almost constantly confined him to his closet. He never dined abroad, seldom visited the theatres, and never appeared but at those times and places at which he was not expected.

As we were descending to the garden after the Emperor had finished dressing, he observed to me that the two designs on his life which had placed him in the most imminent danger, were those of Cerachi the sculptor, and the fanatic of Schœnbrunn. Cerachi, and some other desperate wretches, had laid a plan for assassinating the First Consul. They agreed to carry their design into execution at the moment of his withdrawing from his box at the theatre. Napoleon, who got intimation of the plot, nevertheless proceeded to the theatre, and fearlessly passed by the conspirators, who had shown themselves most eager to occupy their respective stations. They were not arrested until about the middle or near the close of the performance.

Cerachi, said the Emperor, had formerly adored the First Consul; but he vowed to sacrifice him, when, as he pretended, he proved himself a tyrant. This artist had been loaded with favours by General Bonaparte, whose bust he had executed; and when he entered into the plot against his benefactor, he endeavoured by every possible

means to procure another sitting, under pretence of making an essential improvement on the bust. Fortunately, at that time, the Consul had not a single moment's leisure, and thinking that want was the real cause of the urgent solicitations of the sculptor, he sent him six thousand francs. But how was he mistaken! Cerachi's real motive was to stab him at the sitting.

The conspiracy was disclosed by a captain of the line, who was himself an accomplice. "This," said Napoleon, "was a proof of the strange mo-"difications of which the human mind is suscep-"tible, and shows to what lengths the combina-"tions of folly and stupidity may be carried! "This officer regarded me with horror as First "Consul, though he had adored me as a General. "He wished to see me driven from my post, but "he rejected the idea of any attempt upon my "life. He wished that I should be secured, but "would not have me injured in any way; and "he proposed that I should be sent back to the "army to face the enemy and defend the glory "of France. The rest of the conspirators laughed "at these notions; but when he found that they "were distributing poniards and going far beyond "his intentions, he then came and disclosed the "whole to the Consul."

As we were discoursing on this subject, some one present mentioned having witnessed at the Theatre Feydeau, a circumstance which threw

a part of the audience into the greatest consternation. The Emperor entered the Empress Josephine's box, and had scarcely taken his seat, when a young man hastily jumped upon the bench immediately below the box, and placed his hand on the Emperor's breast. The spectators on the opposite side were filled with alarm. Fortunately, however, the young man was merely presenting a petition, which the Emperor received and read with the utmost coolness.

The Emperor described the *Fanatic of Schœnbrunn*, as the son of a protestant minister of Erfurt, who, about the time of the battle of Wagram, had laid a plan for the assassination of Napoleon, with all due parade. He had passed the sentinels at some distance from the Emperor, and had twice or thrice been driven back, when General Rapp, in the act of pushing him aside with his hand, felt something concealed under his coat. This proved to be a knife about a foot and a half long, pointed, and sharp at both edges. "I shuddered to look "at it," said the Emperor; "it was merely rolled "up in a piece of newspaper."

Napoleon ordered the assassin to be brought into his closet. He called Corvisart, and directed him to feel the criminal's pulse while he spoke to him. The assassin stood unmoved, confessing his intended crime, and frequently making quotations from the Bible, "What was your purpose here?" enquired the Emperor. "To kill you." "What

" have I done to offend you? By whose autho-
" rity do you constitute yourself my Judge?"—
" I wish to put an end to the war." " And why
" not address yourself to the Emperor Francis?"
" To him!" said the assassin, " and wherefore?
" he is a mere cipher. And besides, if he were
" dead, another would succeed him; but when
" you are gone the French will immediately retire
" from Germany." The Emperor vainly endeavoured to move him. " Do you repent?" said he. " No." " Would you again attempt the
" perpetration of your intended crime?" " Yes."
" What, if I were to pardon you?" Here, said the Emperor, nature for an instant resumed her sway; the man's countenance and voice underwent a momentary change. " Even though you
" do," said he, " God will not forgive me." But he immediately resumed his ferocious expression. He was kept in solitary confinement and without food for four and twenty hours. The Doctor examined him once more. He was again questioned, but all was unavailing; he still remained the same man, or to speak more properly, the same ferocious brute. He was at length abandoned to his fate.

Measures that might have been adopted after Waterloo.

3d.—In the morning the Emperor dictated in the shady part of the garden. The day was delightfully clear and serene. He had been read-

ing the account of Alexander's expedition in Rollin's History; and had several maps spread out before him. He complained that the narrative was destitute of taste, and without any proper plan. He observed, that it afforded no just idea of the grand views of Alexander; and he expressed a wish himself to write an account of the expedition.

About five o'clock I joined him in the garden, where he was walking attended by all the gentlemen. As soon as he perceived me, he said: "Come, we must have your opinion on a point "which we have been discussing for the last "hour. On my return from Waterloo, do you "think I could have dismissed the Legislative "Body, and have saved France without it?"— "No," I replied, "it would not have been dis- "solved voluntarily. You would have found it "necessary to employ force; which would have "excited protestations, and would have been "regarded as scandalous. The dissatisfaction "excited in the Legislative Body, would have "spread through the whole nation. Meanwhile "the enemy would have arrived; and your Ma- "jesty must have surrendered, accused by all "Europe, accused by foreigners, and even by "Frenchmen; perhaps loaded with universal ma- "lediction, regarded merely as an adventurer "carrying every thing by violence. But as it "was, your Majesty issued pure and unsullied

"from the conflict, and your memory will be "everlastingly cherished in the hearts of those "who respect the cause of the people. Your "Majesty has by your moderation ensured to "yourself the brightest character in history, "while by a different line of conduct you might "have incurred the risk of reprobation. You "have lost your power, it is true; but you have "attained the summit of your glory."

"Well, this is partly my own opinion," said the Emperor. "But after all, am I certain that "the French people will do me justice? Will "they not accuse me of having abandoned them? "History will decide! Instead of dreading, I in- "voke its decree!—I have often asked myself "whether I have done for the French people all "that they could expect of me; for that people "did much for me. Will they ever know all that "I suffered during the night that preceded my "final decision?

"In that night of anguish and uncertainty, I had "to choose between two great courses: the one "was to endeavour to save France by violence; "and the other was to yield to the general im- "pulse. The measure which I pursued was, I "think, most advisable. Friends and enemies; "the good and the evil disposed, all were against "me, and I stood alone. I surrendered; and "my decision being once adopted, could not be "revoked. I am not one who takes half mea-

" sures; and besides, sovereignty is not to be
" thrown off and on like one's cloak. The other
" course demanded extraordinary severity. It
" would have been necessary to arraign great cri-
" minals and to decree great punishments. Blood
" must have been shed; and then who can tell
" where we should have stopped! What scenes of
" horror might not have been renewed! By pur-
" suing this line of conduct, should I not have
" drowned my memory in the deluge of blood,
" crimes and abominations of every kind, with
" which libelists have already overwhelmed me?
" Should I not thereby have seemed to justify all
" that they have been pleased to invent? Poste-
" rity and History would have viewed me as a se-
" cond Nero or Tiberius. If after all I could have
" saved France at such a price! . . . . I had
" energy sufficient to carry me through every diffi-
" culty! . . . . But, is it certain that I should
" have succeeded? All our dangers did not come
" from without; the worst existed in our internal
" discord. Did not a party of mad fools dispute
" about the shades, before we had secured the
" triumph of the colour? How would it have been
" possible to persuade them that I was not labour-
" ing for myself alone, for my own personal ad-
" vantage? How could I convince them of my
" disinterestedness, or prove that all my efforts
" were directed to save the country? To whom
" could I point out the dangers and miseries from

" which I sought to rescue the French people?
" They were evident to me, but the vulgar mass
" will ever remain in ignorance of them until they
" are crushed beneath their weight.

" What answer could be given to those who
" exclaimed: Behold the despot, the tyrant!
" again violating the oaths which he took but
" yesterday! and who knows whether amidst this
" tumult, this inextricable complication of diffi-
" culties, I might not have perished by the hand
" of a Frenchman, in the civil conflict! Then
" how would France have appeared in the eyes
" of the universe, in the estimation of future ge-
" nerations? The glory of France is to identify
" herself with me. I could not have achieved
" so many great deeds for her honour and glory
" without the nation, and in despite of the na-
" tion. France was inclined to elevate me to
" too high a point! . . . . As I said before, His-
" tory will decide! . . . ."

He then adverted to the plan and details of the Campaign, dwelling with pleasure on its glorious commencement, and with regret on the terrible disaster that marked its close.

" Still," continued he, " I should have con-
" sidered the state of affairs as by no means des-
" perate, had I obtained the aid I expected. All
" our resources rested in the Chambers. I has-
" tened to convince them of this; but they im-
" mediately rose against me, under pretence that

" I was come to dissolve them. What an ab-
" surdity! From that moment all was lost.*

" It would perhaps be unjust," added the Emperor, " to accuse the majority of the Members " of the Chambers; but such is the nature of all " numerous bodies, that they must perish, if dis- " united. Like armies, they must have leaders.

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* Time, which explains all things, has developed the little springs which brought about one of our greatest catastrophes. I received the following particulars from one who acted a part in the events of the day :—

On hearing that Napoleon had arrived at the Elysée from Waterloo, Fouché flew to the dissatisfied and suspicious Members of the Chamber, exclaiming, " To arms! He has returned des- " perate, and is about to dissolve the Chambers and seize the " dictatorship. We cannot endure the restoration of tyranny." He then hastened to the best friends of Napoleon. " Are you " aware," said he, " what a terrible fermentation has risen up " against the Emperor among certain deputies? We can only save " Napoleon by facing them boldly, by showing them the full " power of our party, and how easily the Chambers may be " dissolved."

The friends of Napoleon, easily duped in this sudden crisis, failed not to follow, perhaps even to overstep the suggestions of Fouché, who now returned to the distrustful party and said, " You see his best friends are agreed on this point: the danger " is urgent; and in a few hours there will be no remedy. " The Chamber will be no more, and we shall be very culpable " in letting slip the only opportunity of opposing him." Thus the permanency of the Chambers, the forced abdication of the Emperor, and the downfall of a great empire, were brought about by petty intrigue, by anti-chamber report and gossip. Ah, Fouché! how well the Emperor knew you, when he said, that your ugly foot was sure to be thrust into every body's shoes.

" The chiefs of armies are appointed; but, in " constituted bodies, men of eminent talent and " genius rise up and rule them. We wanted all " this, and, therefore, in spite of the good spirit " which might have animated the majority, all " were in an instant plunged into confusion and " tumult. The Legislative Body had perfidy and " corruption stationed at its doors, while incapa- " city, disorder, and perversity prevailed in its " bosom; and thus France became the prey of " foreigners.

" For a moment, I entertained the idea of re- " sistance. I was on the point of declaring my- " self permanently at the Tuileries, along with " my Ministers and Counsellors of State. I had " thoughts of rallying round me the six thousand " guards who were in Paris, augmenting them " with the best disposed portion of the National " Guard, who were very numerous, and the " federate troops of the Faubourgs; of adjourn- " ing the Legislative Body to Tours or Blois; " re-organizing before the walls of Paris, the " wrecks of the army, and thus exerting my " efforts singly, as a Dictator, for the welfare of " the country. But would the Legislative Body " have obeyed? I might have enforced obedience, " it is true; but this would have been a new cause " of scandal, and a fresh source of difficulties. " Would the people have made common cause " with me? Would even the army have continued

" constantly faithful to me? In the succession of " events, might not both the people and the " army have been separated from me? Might " not plans have been arranged to my prejudice? " The idea that so many dangers were caused by " me alone, might have served as a plausible pre- " text, and the facilities which every one had " experienced during the preceding year in gain- " ing favour with the Bourbons, might to many " have become decisive inducements.

" Yes," continued the Emperor, " I hesitated " long, I weighed every argument on both sides; " and I at length concluded, that I could not " make head against the coalition without, and " the royalists within; that I should be unable " to oppose the numerous sects which would " have been created by the violence committed " on the Legislative Body, to control that por- " tion of the multitude which must be driven by " force, or to resist that moral condemnation " which imputes to him who is unfortunate every " evil that ensues. Abdication was therefore " absolutely the only step I could adopt. All " was lost in spite of me. I foresaw and foretold " this; but still I had no other alternative.

" The Allies always pursued the same system " against me. They began it at Prague, con- " tinued it at Frankfort, at Chatillon, at Paris, " and at Fontainbleau. Their conduct displayed " considerable judgment. The French might

" have been duped in 1814; but it is difficult to " conceive how they could have been deceived " in 1815. History will for ever tarnish the me- " mory of those who suffered themselves to be " misled. I foretold their fate when I was de- " parting to join the army: *Do not resemble,* " I said, *the Greeks of the Lower Empire, who* " *amused themselves in debating while the battering-* " *ram was levelling the walls of their city.* And, " when forced to abdicate, I said, *Our enemies* " *wish to separate me from the army; when they* " *shall have succeeded, they will separate the army* " *from you. You will then be merely a wretched* " *flock, the prey of wild beasts.*"

We asked the Emperor whether with the concurrence of the Legislative Body, he thought he could have saved France? He replied without hesitation, that he would confidently have undertaken to do so, and that he would have answered for his success.

" In less than a fortnight," continued he, " that " is to say, before any considerable mass of the " allied force could have assembled before Paris, " I should have completed my fortifications, and " have collected before the walls of the city, and " out of the wrecks of the army, upwards of eighty " thousand good troops, and three hundred pieces " of horsed artillery. After a few days' firing, the " national guard, the federal troops, and the inha- " bitants of Paris, would have sufficed to defend

" the entrenchments, I should have had eighty " thousand disposable troops at my command. It " is well known how advantageously I was capa- " ble of employing this force. The achievements of " 1814 were still fresh in remembrance. Champ- " aubert, Montmirail, Craone, Montereau, were " still present in the imagination of our enemies; " the same scenes would have revived the recol- " lection of the prodigies of the preceding year. " I was then surnamed the *hundred thousand men*.

" The rapidity and decision of our successes " gave rise to this name. The conduct of the " French troops was most admirable. Never did " a handful of brave men accomplish so many " miracles. If their high achievements have " never been publicly known, owing to the cir- " cumstances which attended our disasters, they " have at least been duly appreciated by our ene- " mies, who counted the number of our attacks " by our victories. We were truly the heroes " of fable!

" Paris," said he, " would in a few days have " become impregnable. The appeal to the nation, " the magnitude of the danger, the excitation of " the public mind, the grandeur of the spectacle, " would have drawn multitudes to the capital. I " could undoubtedly have assembled upwards of " four hundred thousand men, and I imagine the " allied force did not exceed five hundred thou- " sand. Thus the affair would have been brought

" to a single combat, in which the enemy would " have had as much to fear as ourselves. He " would have hesitated, and thus I should have " regained the confidence of the majority.

" Meanwhile I should have surrounded myself " with a national senate or junta selected from " among the members of the Legislative Body; " men distinguished by national names, and " worthy of general confidence. I should have " fortified my military Dictatorship, with all the " strength of civil opinion. I should have had " my tribune, which would have promulgated " the talisman of my principles through Europe. " The Sovereigns would have trembled to behold " the contagion spread among their subjects. " They must have treated with me, or have sur- " rendered. . . . "

" But, Sire," we exclaimed, " why did you " not attempt what would infallibly have suc- " ceeded?—Why are we here?"

" Now," resumed the Emperor, " you are " blaming and condemning me! But, if you took " a view of the contrary chances, you would " change your tone. Besides, you forget that " we reasoned in the hypothesis that the Legis- " lative Body would have joined me; but you " know what line of conduct it pursued. I might " have dissolved it, to be sure. France and Europe " perhaps blame me, and posterity will doubtless

" blame my weakness, in not breaking up the " Legislative Body after its insurrection. It will " be said, that I ought not to have separated my- " self from the destinies of a people who had " done all for me. But by dissolving the Assem- " bly, I could at most have obtained only a capi- " tulation from the enemy. In that case, I again " repeat, blood must have been shed, and I must " have proved myself a tyrant. I had however " arranged a plan on the night of the 20th, and " on the 21st measures of the most rigid severity " were to have been adopted; but ere the return " of day, the dictates of humanity and prudence " warned me that such a course was not to be " thought of, that I should miss my aim, and that " every one was merely seeking blindly to ac- " commodate himself to circumstances. But I " must not begin again. I have already said too " much on a subject which always revives painful " recollections. I repeat once more that History " will decide."—The Emperor returned to his chamber desiring me to follow him . . . . . .

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4th. At 5 o'clock I went to meet the Emperor in the garden. He had taken too warm a bath, and in consequence found himself ill. We rode out in the calash, the weather was delightful: for several days it had been very warm and dry. Before dinner the Emperor dictated to the Grand

Marshal. Madame Bertrand dined at the Admiral's. The Emperor withdrew to his chamber immediately after dinner.

Characteristic Traits.

5th—8th. During these four days, the Emperor invariably rode out on horseback about six or seven in the morning, accompanied only by me and my son.

I am enabled to affirm, that I never saw Napoleon swayed either by passion or prejudice, that is to say, I never knew him to pronounce a judgment on men and things that was not dictated by reason. Even when he displays what perhaps may be called anger, it is merely the effect of transitory sensation, and never influences his actions; but I can truly say, that during the eighteen years in which I have had the opportunity of observing his character, I never knew him to act in contradiction to reason.

Another fact which has come to my knowledge, and which I note down here because it recurs to my memory at this moment, is that, either from nature, calculation, or the habit of preserving dignity, he for the most part represses and conceals the painful sensations which he experiences, and still more, perhaps, the kind emotions of his heart. I have frequently observed him repressing feelings of sensibility, as if he

thought they compromised his character. Of this I shall hereafter adduce proofs. Meanwhile the following characteristic trait so perfectly corresponds with the object of this journal, namely, that of showing the man as he really is, and siezing nature in the fact, that I cannot refrain from mentioning it.

For some days past, Napoleon seemed to have something deeply at heart. A domestic circumstance that had occurred, had vexed and ruffled him exceedingly. During the last three days, in our rides about the park, he several times alluded to this circumstance with considerable warmth, desiring me to keep close by his side, and ordering my son to ride on before. On one of these occasions the following observation escaped him:—"I know I am fallen. But to feel "this among you!" . . . These words, the gesture, the tone that accompanied them, pierced my very heart. I was ready to throw myself at his feet, and embrace his knees. "I know," continued he, "that man is frequently unrea- "sonable and susceptible. Thus, when I am "mistrustful of myself, I ask: should I have "been treated so at the Tuileries? This is my "sure test."

He then spoke of himself, of us, of our reciprocal relations, of our situation in the island, and the influence which our individual circumstances might enable us to exercise, &c. His

reflections on these subjects were numerous, powerful, and just. In the emotion with which this conversation inspired me, I exclaimed: "Sire, permit me to take this affair upon myself. "It certainly never could have been viewed in "this light. If the matter were explained, I "am sure it would excite deep sorrow and re- "pentance! I only ask permission to say a "single word." The Emperor replied with dignity:—"No, Sir; I forbid it. I have opened "my heart to you. Nature has had her course. "I shall forget it; and you must seem never "to have known it."

On our return we breakfasted all together in the garden, and the Emperor was more than usually cheerful. In the evening he dined in his own apartment.

Politics.—The state of Europe.—Irresistible ascendancy of liberal opinions.

9th—10th. On the 9th a ship arrived from England, bringing papers to the 21st of January. The Emperor continued his morning rides on horseback, and passed the rest of the day in examining the newspapers in his own chamber. The contents of these late papers were no less interesting than those which we had already examined. The agitation in France continued to increase; the King of Prussia had issued procla-

mations respecting secret societies; a misunderstanding had arisen between Austria and Bavaria; in England the persecution of the French Protestants, and the violence of the party which was gaining the ascendancy, agitated the public mind, and gave arms to the opposition. Europe never presented a more violent fermentation.

On hearing of the deluge of evils and sanguinary events which overwhelmed all the French departments, the Emperor rose from his couch, and stamping his foot violently on the ground, he exclaimed: "How unfortunate was I in not pro-
"ceeding to America! From the other hemi-
"sphere I might have protected France against
"re-action! The dread of my re-appearance
"would have been a check on their violence and
"folly. My name would have sufficed to bridle
"their excess, and to fill them with terror!"

Then continuing the same subject, he said with a degree of warmth, bordering on inspiration: "The counter-revolution, even had it been suf-
"fered to proceed, must inevitably have been
"lost in the grand revolution. The atmosphere
"of modern ideas is sufficient to stifle the old
"feudalists; for henceforth nothing can destroy
"or efface the grand principles of our revolu-
"tion. Those great and excellent truths can
"never cease to exist, so completely are they
"blended with our fame, our monuments, and
"our prodigies. We have washed away their

" first stains in the flood of glory, and they will " henceforth be immortal! Created in the French " tribune, cemented with the blood of battles, " adorned with the laurels of victory, saluted " with the acclamations of the people, sanctioned " by the treaties and alliances of Sovereigns, and " having become familiar to the ears as well as " in the mouths of Kings, these principles can " never again retrograde!

" Liberal ideas flourish in Great Britain, they " enlighten America, and they are nationalized in " France; and this may be called the tripod " whence issues the light of the world! Liberal " opinions will rule the universe. They will be- " come the faith, the religion, the morality of all " nations; and in spite of all that may be ad- " vanced to the contrary, this memorable era will " be inseparably connected with my name; for, " after all, it cannot be denied that I kindled the " torch and consecrated the principle, and now " persecution renders me the Messiah. Friends " and enemies, all must acknowledge me to be " the first soldier, the grand representative of the " age. Thus I shall for ever remain the leading " star." . . . . .

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The Emperor's opinion of several celebrated men,—Pozzo di Borgo—Metternich—Bassano—Clarke—Cambacérès—Lebrun—Fouché, &c.

11th—12th. The Emperor took advantage of every fine morning to ride on horseback. He breakfasted in the garden; and the conversation was afterwards maintained with great freedom and interest on the events of his own private life, on public affairs, on the individuals who surrounded his person, and those who have played a conspicuous part in the other Courts of Europe.

The English lessons were no longer thought of; they were continued only in our rides or walks during the day time. What the Emperor thus lost in grammatical accuracy, he gained in facility of expression.

About five o'clock on the 11th, we took our usual airing in the calash. In the evening we resumed our ministerial anecdotes and conversations on celebrated persons. Napoleon gave us the history of M. Pozzo di Borgo, his countryman, who had been a Member of the Legislative Body. It was he, it is said, who advised the Emperor Alexander to march upon Paris, even though Napoleon should have attacked his rear. "And thus," said the Emperor, "he decided the "fate of France, of European civilization, and the "destinies of the whole world. He had acquired

great influence in the Russian Cabinet. On the 20th of March," continued the Emperor, ...

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He also gave us the history of M. Capo d'Istria. He then spoke of M. de Metternich. " It " was he," said Napoleon, " who . . . . . .

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The Emperor next spoke of his own Ministers; of Bassano, whom he believed to have been sincerely attached to him; Clarke, to whose character Time, he said, would do ample justice; C . . . . . whom late events had shown to have been worth but little. The Emperor had successively appointed him Ambassador to Vienna, Minister of the interior, and Minister for foreign affairs. Talleyrand, observed the Emperor, described his character in a word, when he said of him, with his usual point and ill-natured spirit, that he was a man who could make himself fit for any place on the eve of his appointment to it.

The conversation next turned on M. Cambacérès, whom Napoleon called the man of abuses; observing that he had a decided inclination for the old regime. Lebrun, on the contrary, had a predilection to the opposite extreme. He, said the Emperor, was the man of idealisms. These two men, he observed, were the counterpoises between which the First Consul had placed him-

self, who, in his turn, was humourously called *the consolidated third.*

MM. de T . . . . . and Fouché were next spoken of. After saying a great deal respecting both, the Emperor proceeded to make some energetic remarks on the morality of individuals connected with the ministry in France, and generally of all functionaries or men in office; on their want of political faith, or national feeling, which led them indifferently to adopt one line of conduct to-day, and another to-morrow. "This levity, this "inconsistency," said he, "has descended to us "from antiquity. We still remain Gauls, and "our character will never be complete until we "learn to substitute principles for turbulence, "pride for vanity, and above all, the love of in-"stitutions for the love of places."

The Emperor concluded, that at the close of our late events, the Monarchs of Europe must necessarily have retained a retrospective feeling of scorn and contempt for the great people who had thus sported with Sovereignty. "But," said he, "the excuse may perhaps be found in the "nature of things, and in the power of circum-"stances. Democracy raises up Sovereignty, "aristocracy preserves it. Mine had neither "taken a deep enough root, nor acquired suffi-"dient spirit. At the moment of the crisis it was "still connected with democracy; and it mingled "with the multitude instead of becoming the

" sheet anchor to shield the people from the fury " of the tempest, and to guide them in their blind- " ness."

The following are some fresh particulars respecting M. de T . . . . . and M. Fouché, whose names have so frequently been mentioned. I endeavour as much as possible to avoid repetitions.*

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* I must here once more apologize for the want of regularity and order, which my statements may present. I at first attempted to collect into one mass several scattered details, which were similar in their nature and subject. They would thus have presented greater connexion, force, and interest. But even this operation, simple and easy as it was, required more attention than my weak state of health would permit me to devote to it.

The same circumstance must also form an excuse for the extreme negligence of my language, and for the inaccuracies of all sorts which may be met with. But these are the points on which I feel the least anxiety, hoping that the importance of the subject, will make amends for the faultiness of the style.

The only point on which I could fully satisfy myself was that of curtailment; and I may fairly assert, that there is not a person who may think he has cause to complain, but is, on the contrary, in some degree indebted to me.

Having once adopted the system of abridgment, I was on the point of striking out all my own observations, reflections, and sentiments, with regard to Napoleon, and confining myself entirely to a simple statement of facts. I was fearful lest I might be accused of partial exaggeration, and I was well aware that an imputation of this kind, so easy to be made, would suffice in the eyes of many, to stigmatize my work and counteract my object. But, on the other hand, when I considered that a greater degree of circumspection and reserve would not be the means o.

"M. de T . . . . . ." said the Emperor, "waited two days and nights at Vienna for full "powers to treat for peace in my name; but I "should have been ashamed to have thus pros- "tituted my policy; and yet, perhaps, my con- "duct in this instance has purchased my exile "to St. Helena; for I cannot but allow that "T . . . . . is a man of singular talent, and "capable at all times of throwing great weight "into the scale.

"T . . . . . ." continued he, "was always "in a state treason; but it was in participation "with fortune. His circumspection was ex- "treme; he treated his friends as if they might

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convincing my readers, or of persuading them to adopt my opinions, I thought it would be useless to suppress the real sentiments of my heart, or to refrain from expressing my sincere and positive conviction. All that I have stated, I truly believed, and if I have been mistaken in that belief, I certainly have not been mistaken in the expression of it. Lastly, my determination was fixed by the consideration, that as so many have been influenced by passion in writing in a sense directly opposite, and have laboured hard to show the dark side of the picture, I may at least be allowed the gratification of showing it in a better point of view. I feel persuaded that all sensible and unprejudiced men, of every age and country, if actuated by the love of truth, will know how to divest these opposite accounts of their high colouring, and to come to a knowledge of plain facts. Imbued with this conviction, I leave my manuscript encumbered with all the sentiments which arose in my mind as I noted down the facts recorded in this Journal.

" in future become his enemies; and he behaved " to his enemies as if they might some time or " other become his friends. M. de T . . . . . " had always been, in my opinion, hostile to the " Faubourg St. Germain. In the affair of the " divorce, he was for the Empress Josephine. " It was he who urged the war with Spain, " though in public he had the art to appear " averse to it." Thus it was from a kind of spite that Napoleon made choice of Valencey as the residence of Ferdinand. " In short," said the Emperor, " T . . . . . was the principal " instrument and the active cause of the death " of the Duke d'Enghien."

Napoleon observed, that a celebrated actress (Mademoiselle Raucourt) had described him with great truth. " If you ask him a question, said " she, he is an iron chest, whence you cannot " extract a syllable; but if you ask him nothing, " you will soon be unable to stop his mouth—he " will become a regular gossip."

This was a foible, which, at the outset, destroyed the confidence of the Emperor, and made him waver in his opinion of T . . . . . " I " had entrusted him," said Napoleon, " with a " very important affair, and a few hours after " Josephine related it to me word for word. I " instantly sent for the Minister to inform him " that I had just learned from the Empress a cir- " cumstance which I had told in confidence to

" himself alone. The story had already passed " through four or five intermediate channels."

" T . . . . . 's countenance," added the Emperor, " is so immoveable, that nothing can " ever be read in it. Lannes and Murat used " jokingly to say of him that, if while he was " speaking to you some one should come behind " him and give him a kick, his countenance " would betray no indication of the affront."

M. de T . . . . . is mild and even endearing in his domestic habits. His servants, and the individuals in his employment, are attached and devoted to him. Among his intimate friends he willingly and good-humouredly speaks of his ecclesiastic profession. He one day expressed his dislike of a tune which was played in his hearing. He said he had a great horror of it; it recalled to his recollection the time when he was obliged to practise church-music, and to sing at the desk. On another occasion, one of his intimate friends was telling a story during supper, while M. de T . . . . . was engaged in thought, and seemed inattentive to the conversation. In the course of the story, the speaker happened to say in a lively manner of some one whom he had named, " That fellow is a comical " rogue; he is a married priest." T . . . . . roused by these words, seized a spoon, plunged it hastily into the dish before him, and with a threatening aspect called out to him, " Mr. Such-

" a-one, will you have some spinage?" The person who was telling the story was confounded, and all the party burst into a fit of laughter, M. de T . . . . . as well as the rest.

The Emperor, at the time of the Concordate, wished to have made M. de T . . . . . a Cardinal, and to have placed him at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He told him that his proper destiny was to return to the bosom of the Church, to refresh his memory, and to stop the mouths of the declaimers. T . . . . . , however, would never agree to this; his aversion to the ecclesiastical profession was insurmountable.

Napoleon was very near appointing him Ambassador to Warsaw, a dignity which he subsequently conferred on the Abbé de Pradt; but his shabby stock-jobbing tricks, as the Emperor called them, occasioned this intention to be abandoned. The Emperor was induced by the same reasons, and at the instance of several sovereigns of Germany, to deprive him of the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

The Emperor remarked that Fouché was the T. . . . . of the clubs, and that T. . . . . was the Fouché of the drawing-rooms. " Intrigue," he said, " was to Fouché a necessary of life. He " intrigued at all times, in all places, in all ways, " and with all persons. Nothing ever came to " light, but he was found to have had a hand in " it. He made it his sole business to look out " for something that he might be meddling with.

" His mania was to wish to be concerned in every " thing . . . . ! Always in every body's shoes." This the Emperor would often repeat.

At the time of the conspiracy of Georges, when Moreau was arrested, Fouché was no longer at the head of the Police, and he endeavoured to make himself very much regretted. " What stupidity!" said he, " they have arrested " Moreau when he returned to Paris from his " country residence, a circumstance which at " least appeared like the confidence of innocence. " On the contrary, he should have been seized " when he went to Gros-Bois, for then he evi- " dently fled."

The remark which he made, or which is attributed to him in the affair of the Duke d'Enghien, is well known; " It is more than a crime, it is " a fault," said he. Such traits as these paint the character of a man better than whole volumes.

The Emperor knew Fouché well, and never became his dupe. He has been much blamed for having employed him in 1815, when indeed Fouché basely betrayed him. Napoleon was not ignorant of his disposition; but he also knew that the danger depended more on the circumstances than on the individual. " If I had " been victorious," said he, " Fouché would have " been faithful. He took great care, it is true, " to hold himself in readiness for whatever might " happen. I ought to have conquered!"

The Emperor, however, was acquainted with his underhand dealings, and he did not spare him. After Napoleon's return in 1815, one of the first bankers of Paris presented himself at the Elysée, to inform him that a few days previously a person just arrived from Vienna, had waited upon him with letters of credit, and had made enquiries respecting the means by which he could meet with Fouché. Whether from reflection or presentiment, the banker conceived some doubts respecting this individual, and accordingly came to communicate them in person to the Emperor, who was astonished that Fouché had concealed the matter from his knowledge. In the course of a few hours Réal found the person in question, and immediately brought him to the Elysée, where he was shut up in a small room by himself. The Emperor ordered him to be brought into the garden. "Do you know "me?" said he to the man. This commencement, and the feelings which the Emperor's presence inspired, greatly startled the stranger. "I "am acquainted with all your proceedings," continued Napoleon, in a tone of severity; "if "you this moment confess all you know, I may "pardon you; if not, you will be taken from this "garden to be shot."—"I will tell all," said the man. "I am sent hither by M. de Metternich "to the Duke of Otranto, to propose that he will "despatch a messenger to Bâle, who will there

" meet the messenger sent by M. de Metternich " from Vienna. These," continued he, delivering some papers, " are the marks of recognition " which they are to possess."—" Have you exe- " cuted your mission to Fouché?" enquired the Emperor.—" Yes."—" Has he despatched his " messenger?"—" I do not know." The man was put under confinement, and within an hour a confidential person (M. F. . . . .) was on the road to Bâle. He introduced himself to the Austrian messenger, and even held four conferences with him.

Meanwhile Fouché, who was uneasy at the non-appearance of his Vienna messenger, one day waited on the Emperor, and attempted with an air of gaiety and cheerfulness to conceal his extreme embarrassment. " There were several " looking-glasses," said the Emperor, " in the " apartment, and I was much amused in studying " him by stealth; the expression of his coun- " tenance was hideous; he did not know how " to enter upon the subject which interested " him so deeply."—" Sire," said he at length, " a circumstance occurred to me four or five " days ago, which I fear I was wrong in not com- " municating to your Majesty. . . . . But I have " so much business on my hands . . . . . I am " surrounded with so many reports, so many in- " trigues. . . . A man came to me from Vienna " with most ridiculous propositions, . . . and he

" is now no where to be found!"—" M. Fouché," said the Emperor, " you may injure yourself, if " you take me for a fool. I have secured the " man you speak of, and I have known the whole " intrigue for several days. Have you sent to " Bâle?"—" No, Sire."—" That is fortunate for " you. If it be otherwise, and I obtain proofs " of it, it may cost you your life."

Subsequent events have proved that this would have been but justice. It appears, however, that Fouché had not sent, and here the business ended.

Papers from Europe.—Political Reflections.

13th.—The Emperor breakfasted in the garden, and sent for us all to attend him. He resumed the reading of the papers which we had glanced at in the morning, and then proceeded to expatiate on political affairs. The following observations are those which most forcibly struck me.

" On the 13th Vendemiaire, the inhabitants of " Paris were completely disgusted with the Go- " vernment," said the Emperor; " but the whole " of the army, the great majority of the popu- " lation of the departments, the lower class of " citizens, and the peasantry, remained attached " to it. Thus the Revolution triumphed over " this grand attack of the counter-revolution, " though it was only four or five years since the " new principles had been promulgated. The

" most frightful and calamitous scenes had been " witnessed; and a happier future was anti- " cipated."

" But now how altered is the case! . . . . . " If the soldier in his barracks seek to wile away " the tedious hours in talking of battles, he cannot " speak of Fontenoy or Prague which he did not " witness; he must speak of the victories of Ma- " rengo, Austerlitz, and Jena; of him who gained " them; in short, of me, whose fame fills every " mouth, and lives in every heart.

" Such a situation is unexampled in history. " On whichever side it is viewed, nothing but " misfortunes present themselves. What will be " the result of this? . . . . . Two classes of peo- " ple, inhabitants of the same soil, will become " mortal, irreconcilable enemies, will be inces- " santly disputing, and will, perhaps, finally ex- " terminate each other.

" The same fury will soon spread through " Europe. The whole Continent will be com- " posed of two hostile parties; it will be no longer " divided by nations and territories, but by party- " colours and opinions. Who can foresee the " crisis, the duration, the details of so many " troubles! The event cannot be doubtful. The " present enlightened age will not retrograde in " knowledge! . . . . . How unfortunate was " my fall! . . . . . I had imprisoned the winds; " but bayonets have released them. I could have

" proceeded tranquilly in the universal regenera-
" tion, which can henceforth be effected only
" amidst storms! My object was to amalgamate;
" others, perhaps, will extirpate!"

The Governor's Arrival.

14th.—The rainy weather had returned; for two days it had been miserably wet. Some vessels appeared in sight; and we learnt by signals that they brought the new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Emperor was silent and melancholy during dinner. He was not well, and he retired very early.

The Emperor's progress in learning English.

15th.—About 12 o'clock this morning I received four letters from Europe, which rendered me as happy as I could possibly be in this place.

I saw the Emperor at five o'clock in the garden. He had taken advantage of an interval of fine weather; the rain had been pouring the whole of the day. I communicated to him the contents of my letters. All our party had received communications from Europe. They were delivered to us open, and they contained no news; but they proved that our friends still remembered us, and in our situation such an assurance was peculiarly gratifying.

During dinner, the Emperor described to us

the contents of some French papers which he had by him, and which, he said, gave an account of the shipwreck of La Perouse, his different adventures, his death, and his journal, &c. The narrative consisted of the most curious, striking, and romantic details, and interested us exceedingly. The Emperor observed how highly our curiosity was excited, and then burst into a fit of laughter. This story was nothing but an impromtu of his own, which he said he had invented merely to show us the progress he had made in English.

The Governor's first visit.—Declaration required from us.

16th.—The new Governor arrived at Longwood about ten o'clock, notwithstanding the rain which still continued. He was accompanied by the Admiral, who was to introduce him, and who had, no doubt, told him that this was the most suitable hour for his visit. The Emperor did not receive him; he was indisposed, and even had he been well, he would not have seen him. The Governor, by this abrupt visit, neglected the usual forms of decorum. It was easy to perceive that this was a trick of the Admiral. The Governor, who probably had no intention to render himself at all disagreeable, appeared very much disconcerted. We laughed in our sleeves. As for the Admiral, he was quite triumphant.

The Governor, after long hesitation and very evident marks of ill-humour, took his leave rather abruptly. We doubted not that this visit had been planned by the Admiral, with the view of prepossessing us against each other at the very outset. But whether the Governor himself had any concern in it, or entertained any suspicion of its design, is a question which time will decide.

About half-past five the Emperor sent for me to attend him in the garden. He was alone. He told me that a circumstanee had arisen which regarded us all individually. It had been determined to require a declaration from each of us, stating whether we preferred uniting our fate to that of the Emperor, to being removed from St. Helena and set at liberty.

We could not guess the motive of this determination. Was it adopted by the English Ministry for the sake of procuring regular documents? But at the time of our departure from Plymouth this preliminary condition was perfectly understood. Was it hoped by this means to separate the Emperor more completely from the world? But could it ever be supposed that we would forsake him?

He asked what would be my determination on this point. I replied, that it could not be for a moment doubtful; that if I ever felt a pang, it must have been at the moment of my first determination; that from that instant my fate had been

irrevocably fixed. I had at first obeyed only the dictates of glory and honour; but in every succeeding day I had indulged my natural affection and feelings. The Emperor's voice assumed a milder tone; and this was the mode in which he expressed his thanks. I knew his heart, and the full extent of his gratitude!

I added, that there was but little merit in my resolution. No change could take place in our situations. The day after having signed the document we should be the same as we had been the day before. Our fate depended not on human combinations, but on the course of events. It would be very unwise to add to our troubles by calculations beyond the reach of human foresight. It is our duty tranquilly to resign ourselves to the mysterious decrees of Fate; and in the depth of our misfortune, to comfort ourselves with the reflection that our minds are free from self-reproach. This is a consolation which it is beyond the power of man to enfeeble or to destroy.

Character of the conversation.—The Emperor's return from Elba foreseen at the time of his departure from Fontainbleau.—The Governor's introduction.—Mortification experienced by the Admiral.—Our causes of complaint against him.—Description of Sir Hudson Lowe.

17th.—The Emperor sent for me at nine o'clock. He read to me an article in the Portsmouth Cou-

rier, which gave a very long and faithful description of his residence at Briars.

He sent for me again in the middle of the day to converse with him. One part of the conversation affords so valuable a development of Napoleon's character, that I cannot refrain from noting down some passages of it.

There occasionally arose among us transient misunderstandings and disputes, which vexed and annoyed the Emperor. He adverted to this topic. He analysed our situation with his usual train of reasoning. He calculated the miseries and horrors of our exile, and pointed out the best mode of alleviating them. He said we ought to make mutual sacrifices, and overlook many grievances; that man can only enjoy life by controling the character given to him by nature, or by creating to himself a new one by education, and learning to modify it according to the obstacles which he may encounter.

"You should endeavour to form but one family," said he. "You have followed me only with the "view of assuaging my sorrow. Ought not this "feeling to subdue every other consideration? If "sympathy alone is not sufficiently powerful, "let reason be your guide. You should learn to "calculate your sorrows, your sacrifices, and "your enjoyments, in order to arrive at a result, "just as we make additions or subtractions in every "kind of calculation. All the circumstances of our

" lives should be submitted to this rule. . . . .
" We must learn to conquer ill temper. It is
" natural enough that little misunderstandings
" should arise among you; but they should be
" followed by explanation, and not succeeded by
" ill-humour; the former will produce a result, the
" latter will only render the affair more compli-
" cated. Reason, and logical inference, should
" in this world be our constant guides." He then proceeded to show how he had sometimes acted up to these principles, and sometimes departed from them. He added, that we ought to learn to forgive, and to avoid that hostility and acrimony, which must be offensive to our neighbours and prejudicial to our own happiness; that we ought to make allowance for human frailties, and humour rather than oppose them.

" What would have become of me," said he,
" had I not followed these maxims? It has often
" been said that I have been too good-natured,
" and not sufficiently cautious; but it would have
" been much worse for me, had my disposition
" been the reverse of what it is. I have been
" twice betrayed it is true; and I may be be-
" trayed a third time. But still it was my know-
" ledge of human character, and the spirit of
" reasonable indulgence which I had adopted,
" that enabled me to govern France; and which
" still perhaps render me the fittest person to rule
" that nation, under existing circumstances. On

" my departure from Fontainbleau, did I not say
" to all who requested me to point out the line
" of conduct they should pursue, ... Go, and
" serve the King! . . . I wished to grant them
" lawful authority for doing what many would
" not have hesitated to do of their own accord. I
" would not allow the fidelity of some to be the
" cause of their ruin; and finally, above all, I did
" not wish to have any one to censure on my
" return."

I here ventured, contrary to my constant custom, to call the Emperor, in some measure, to account. " How, Sire," I exclaimed, " had your
" Majesty any idea of returning when you left
" Fontainbleau?"—" Yes, certainly, and by the
" simplest reasoning. If the Bourbons, said I,
" intend to commence a fifth dynasty, I have
" nothing more to do here; I have acted my part.
" But if they should obstinately attempt to re-
" continue the third, I shall soon appear again.
" It may be said, that the Bourbons then had my
" fame and conduct at their own disposal. It
" was in their power still to represent me to the
" eyes of the common mass of mankind, as an
" upstart, a tyrant, a firebrand, and a scourge.
" How much good sense and calm reflection
" would have been necessary to appreciate my
" real character, and render me justice! . . . But
" the men by whom the Bourbons were sur-
" rounded, and the erroneous line of conduct they

" pursued, rendered my presence desirable; they " restored my popularity and decreed my return. " I should otherwise have ended my days on the " Island of Elba, and this would doubtless have " proved most to the interest of all parties. I " returned to discharge a great debt, and not for " the sake of resuming possession of a throne. " Perhaps few will comprehend the motive by " which I was actuated; no matter for that. I " took upon myself a heavy charge, but it was a " duty I owed to the French people. Their com- " plaints reached me; and how could I turn a " deaf ear to them?

" Upon the whole, my situation at the Island " of Elba was sufficiently enviable and agreeable. " I should soon have created to myself a new kind " of sovereignty. All that was most distinguished " in Europe, was about to pass in review before " me. I should have presented a spectacle un- " known in history: that of a monarch descended " from his throne, beholding the civilized world " defile before him.

" It may indeed be affirmed, that the Allies " would have removed me from my Island; and I " admit that this circumstance hastened my re- " turn. But had France been wisely governed, " had the French people been content, my influ- " ence would have ended; I should henceforth " have belonged only to history, and the cabinet " of Vienna would have entertained no idea of

" deposing me. It was the agitation created and " maintained in France, that first gave rise to the " thought of my removal."

Here the Grand Marshal entered the Emperor's apartment. He came to announce the arrival of the Governor, who was escorted by the Admiral, and followed by the whole of his staff.

After some further conversation, Bertrand was left alone with the Emperor, and I proceeded to the antichamber;* here all the suite was assembled. We endeavoured to exchange a few words with each other; but we were rather bent on observing than conversing.

In about half an hour, the Emperor entered the drawing-room. The valet de chambre on duty, who was stationed at the door within the apartment, then summoned the Governor, and he was introduced. The Admiral was following close behind him. The valet, who had heard only the Governor's name mentioned, suddenly closed the door without admitting the Admiral, who was shut out in spite of his remonstrance; and he withdrew quite disconcerted into the recess of one of the windows. The valet de chambre who was the cause of this affront, was Noverraz, a Swiss, a good and faithful servant, of whom the Emperor frequently said, that his whole understanding was absorbed in his attachment to his master.

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* See the plan of Longwood.

We were astonished at this unexpected occurrence; and we at first concluded that Noverraz had acted in obedience to the Emperor's wishes. Though we had ample reason to complain of the Admiral, yet we did all in our power to relieve him from his embarrassment; his awkward situation distressed us. Meanwhile, the Governor's staff was summoned and introduced; and this circumstance served only to increase the Admiral's confusion. In about a quarter of an hour the Emperor took leave of his visitors. The Governor came out of the drawing-room, and the Admiral eagerly advanced to meet him. They said a few words to each other with some degree of warmth, then took leave of us and departed.

We joined the Emperor in the garden, and our conversation turned on the Admiral's discomfiture. The Emperor knew nothing of the matter. The whole circumstance was solely the effect of chance. The Emperor declared himself delighted with the joke. He burst into a fit of laughter, rubbed his hands, and exhibited the joy of a child, of a schoolboy who had successfully played off a trick on his master. "Ah! my good Noverraz," said he, "you have done a clever thing for once in "your life. He had heard me say that I would "not see the Admiral again, and he thought he "was bound to shut the door in his face. But "this honest Swiss may perhaps carry the joke too "far: if I were unfortunately to say we must get

" rid of the Governor, he would be for assassin-
" ating him before my eyes. After all," said the Emperor, assuming a more serious tone, " it was
" entirely the Governor's fault. He should have
" requested that the Admiral might be admitted,
" particularly as he had informed me that he could
" be presented only by him. Why, again, did he
" not request the Admiral's admission when he
" presented his officers to me? He is solely to
" blame. But," continued he, " the Admiral has
" lost nothing by the mistake. I should without he-
" sitation have apostrophized him in the presence
" of his countrymen. I should have told him,
" that by the sentiment attached to the honour-
" able uniform which we had both worn for forty
" years, I accused him of having, in the eyes of
" the world, degraded his nation and his Sove-
" reign by wantonly and stupidly failing in re-
" spect to one of the oldest soldiers in Europe.
" I should have reproached him with landing me
" at St. Helena just as he would have landed a
" convict at Botany-Bay. I should have assured
" him, that a man of true honour would show me
" more respect on my rock, than if I were still on
" my throne and surrounded by my armies." The force and spirit of these remarks put a period to our gaiety, and closed the conversation.

As I have thus alluded to the Admiral, and as he is now about to quit us, I will once for all sum up the insults with which we have to reproach

him, with as much impartiality as our situation and the state of our feelings will admit of.

We cannot pardon the affected familiarity with which he treated us, though our conduct afforded but little encouragement to it. Still less can we forgive him for having endeavoured to extend this familiarity to the Emperor. We can never forget the haughty and self-complacent air with which he addressed Napoleon by the title of *General*. The Emperor, it is true, has immortalized that title; but the tone and the intention with which it was applied were sufficiently insulting.

On our arrival at St. Helena, he lodged the Emperor in a little room, a few feet square, where he kept him for two months, though other residences could have been procured, and there was one which the Admiral had himself fixed upon. He indirectly prohibited the Emperor from riding on horseback, even in the grounds surrounding the Briars; and the individuals of the Emperor's suite were loaded with embarrassments and humiliations, when they came to pay their daily visits to him in his little cell.

On our removal to Longwood, he stationed sentinels under the very windows of the Emperor; and then by an evasion, which savoured of the bitterest irony, he alleged that this step had been taken only with a view to the *General's* own advantage and protection. He suffered no one to come near us without a note from him, and hav-

ing thus placed us in close confinement, he declared that these arrangements had been made only to secure the Emperor against importunity, and that he (the Admiral) was merely acting the part of *Grand Marshal*. He gave a ball, and sent a written invitation to *General Bonaparte*, in the same manner as he did to every individual in the suite. He replied with the most unbecoming jeers to the notes of the Grand Marshal, who used the title of *Emperor*, saying that he knew no *Emperor* at the Island of St. Helena, nor any such Sovereign in Europe, or elsewhere, who was not in his own dominions. He refused to forward a letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent, unless it were delivered to him open, or he were permitted to read it. He even stifled the sentiments and expressions of respect, which other individuals manifested to Napoleon. We were assured that he had put persons in inferior situations under arrest, merely for having used the title of Emperor, or other similar expressions; which, however, were frequently employed in the 53d regiment, doubtless, as the Emperor observed, through an irresistible sentiment with which these brave men were inspired.

The Admiral, from his own personal caprice, had limited the extent of our rides and walks. On this subject he had even broken his word to the Emperor. At a moment when he appeared somewhat inclined to make concessions, he had assured Napoleon that he was free to ride in all parts

of the Island, without being annoyed even by the sight of the English officer appointed to guard him. But a few days after this, just as Napoleon was on the point of mounting his horse to ride out to breakfast in a shady spot at some distance from our residence, he found himself under the necessity of renouncing this little enjoyment. The officer declared that he must henceforth form one of the party, and ride close to him. From that moment the Emperor refused seeing the Admiral. The latter had moreover neglected the most ordinary forms of decorum, always fixing upon unsuitable hours for his own visits, and directing strangers who arrived at the Island to select the same unseasonable periods for visiting the Emperor. This was no doubt done with the view of preventing people from gaining access to Napoleon, who constantly refused to be seen on these occasions. It has already been stated, that the Admiral acted thus when the Governor made his first visit to Longwood; and the satisfaction he evinced at the Governor's ill reception, but too plainly betrayed his design.

However, if we were required to pronounce an impartial opinion on him, making allowance for the irritability of our own feelings, and the delicacy of his situation, we should not hesitate to declare, that our grievances rested in forms rather than facts. We should say with the Emperor, who had after all a natural predilection for him, that Admiral Cockburn is far from being an ill-

disposed man, that he is even susceptible of generous and delicate sentiment; but that he is capricious, irascible, vain, and overbearing: that he is a man who is accustomed to authority, and who exercises it ungraciously; frequently substituting energy for dignity. To express in a few words the nature of our relations with respect to him, we should say, that as a jailor, he was mild, humane and generous, and that we have reason to be grateful to him; but that as a host, he was generally unpolite, often something worse, and that in this character we have cause to be displeased with him.

About two or three o'clock, the Emperor took his usual airing. During our walk in the garden and our ride in the calash, he said a good deal about the events of the morning; and the conversation on this subject was resumed after dinner. Some one jokingly observed, that the two first days of the Governor's arrival had been like days of battle, and were calculated to make us appear very untractable, though we were naturally most patient and accommodating. At these last words, the Emperor smiled and pinched the ear of the individual who made the remark.

The conversation then turned on Sir Hudson Lowe. He was described as being a man about 45 years of age; of the usual height, and of slender make, with red hair, a ruddy complexion and freckled. His eyes were said to have an oblique

kind of expression; glancing askance, seldom fixed full in a person's face; surmounted by fair, bushy, and very prominent eyebrows. "He is "hideous," said the Emperor, "he has a most "villainous countenance. But we must not de- "cide too hastily; the man's disposition may "perhaps make amends for the unfavourable im- "pression which his face produces; this is not "impossible."

Convention of the Sovereigns respecting Napoleon.—Remarkable observations.

18th. The weather had been horrible for some days past, but it cleared up a little to-day. The Emperor went out early to take his walk in the garden; about 4 o'clock he got into the calash and took rather a longer airing than usual. Before dinner the Emperor desired me to translate to him the Convention of the Allied Sovereigns relative to his captivity. It was as follows:—

Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Signed at Paris, August 20th, 1815.

"Napoleon Bonaparte being in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have agreed, by virtue of the stipulations of the treaty of the 25th of

March, 1815, on the measures best calculated to preclude the possibility of his making any attempt to disturb the peace of Europe.

"Art. I.—Napoleon Bonaparte is considered by the Powers who signed the treaty of the 20th of March last, as their prisoner.

"Art. II.—His safeguard is specially intrusted to the British Government.

"The choice of the place and the measures which may best ensure the object of the present stipulation, are reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

"Art. III.—The Imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and the Royal court of Prussia shall appoint Commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty's Government shall assign as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his security, shall assure themselves of his presence.

"Art. IV.—His most Christian Majesty is invited in the name of the four Courts above mentioned, also to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention.

"Art. V.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, pledges himself to fulfil the engagements assigned to him by the present convention.

"Art. VI.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged in the space of a fortnight, or sooner if possible.

"In virtue of which the respective Plenipo-

tentiaries have signed the present convention, and have affixed their seals thereto.

" Given at Paris on the 20th of August, in the year of our Lord 1815."

When I had finished translating this document, the Emperor asked me what I thought of it.

" Sire," I replied, " in the situation in which " we are placed, I would rather depend on the " interests of a single one, than on the compli- " cated decision of four. England has evidently " dictated this treaty. You see how carefully " she stipulates that she alone will answer for " and dispose of the prisoner. She has been " labouring to provide herself with the lever of " Archimedes, and therefore it is not probable " that she will entertain any idea of breaking it."

The Emperor, without explaining his ideas on this subject, adverted to the different chances which might bring about his liberation from St. Helena, and he made the following remarkable observations: " If the Sovereigns of Europe act wisely, " and should succeed in completely restoring order, " we shall not be worth the money and the " trouble which it must cost to keep us here, and " they will get rid of us. But our captivity may " still be prolonged for some years, perhaps " three, four, or five. Otherwise, setting aside " the fortuitous events which are beyond the " reach of human foresight, I calculate only on " two uncertain chances of our liberation: first,

" that the Sovereigns may stand in need of me to " assist in putting down rebellion among their " subjects; and secondly, the people of Europe " may require my aid in the contest that may " arise between them and their monarchs. I am " the natural arbiter and mediator in the immense " conflict between the present and the past. I " have always aspired to be the supreme judge " in this cause. My administration at home and " my diplomacy abroad, all tended to this great " end. The issue might have been brought about " more easily and promptly; but fate ordained " otherwise. Finally, there is a last chance, " which perhaps is the most probable of all; I " may be wanted to check the power of the " Russians; for in less than ten years, all Europe " may perhaps be overrun with Cossacks, or " subject to republican government. Such how- " ever are the statesmen who brought about my " overthrow . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . ."

Then reverting to the decision of the Sovereigns respecting him, he observed it was difficult to account for the style of the document, and the malignant spirit that pervaded it.

" The *Emperor Francis*," said he, " is a pious " sovereign, and I am his son-in-law.—As for " *Alexander*, we once loved each other. With re-

"gard to the *King of Prussia*, I doubtless did "him much harm, but I might have done him "much more; and after all, might he not have "found real glory and self-satisfaction in dis- "tinguishing himself by generosity? As to *Eng-* "*land*, it is to the animosity of her Ministers that "I am indebted for all. But it remained for the "Prince Regent to observe and interfere, or to "be branded as a fool, and a protector of vulgar "malignity.—One thing however is certain, "namely: that the Allied Sovereigns have com- "promised, degraded, and lost themselves, by "their treatment of me."

The Declaration required from us by the Governor.

19th.—This morning the Grand Marshal and Madame Bertrand came into the garden, in consequence of the Emperor having expressed an intention of breakfasting there; but as he had passed a very restless night, and had had no sleep, he breakfasted in his chamber.

The Governor gave us official notice that we must each send him a declaration, expressing our voluntary determination to remain at Longwood, and to submit to all the restrictions which Napoleon's captivity might require. Mine was as follows:—

Declaration.—"I, the undersigned, repeat the declaration which I made when in Plymouth-

roads; namely, that I wish to devote myself to the fate of the Emperor Napoleon, to accompany him, to follow him, and to alleviate as far as lies in my power the unjust treatment he experiences, through the most unheard-of violation of the law of nations, of which I am the more particularly sensible, as it was I who conveyed to him the offer and assurance of Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon, purporting that he had orders to receive the Emperor and his Suite, under the protection of the British flag, if agreeable to him, and to convey him to England.

"The Emperor Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent, which is known to all England, and which I had previously communicated to Captain Maitland, without his having made the slightest observation on it, explains to the world much better than any thing I can say, how frankly the Emperor met this offer of hospitality, and, consequently, how much he has been the dupe of his sincerity and confidence.

"Notwithstanding the experience I have had of the horrors of a residence on the Island of St. Helena, which is so prejudicial to the Emperor's health, and to that of every European, and though, during the six months which we have passed on the island, I have been subjected to every species of privations, which I myself daily multiply, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the violation of that respect which my rank and ha-

bits demand, yet constant to my first sentiments, and resolved that for the future no fear of misfortune, or hope of advantage, shall separate me from the Emperor Napoleon, I repeat my desire to remain with him, and to submit to whatever restrictions may be arbitrarily imposed on him."

Farewell visit of the late Governor.—Interesting conversation.—Remark of an old English soldier.

20th.—Colonel Wilks being on the eve of his departure for Europe, called with his daughter to take leave of the Emperor. The young lady was presented by Madame Bertrand. I have already mentioned that Colonel Wilks had formerly been Governor of the Colony, for the East India Company; he was succeeded by the Admiral in the King's name, when, in consequence of our removal to St. Helena, the island was transferred from the possession of the Company to that of the Government.

The Emperor was in a remarkably cheerful humour. He conversed for some time with the ladies, and then took Col. Wilks aside to the recess of one of the windows, whither I followed to serve as interpreter.

Col. Wilks, as I have probably mentioned before, was for a long time the diplomatic agent of the Company in the Indian Peninsula; he has written a history of those regions. He is a man

of extensive information, and possesses great knowledge of chemistry. Thus he was at once a soldier, an author, a diplomatist, and a chemist. The Emperor put questions to him relative to all these subjects, and treated them himself with great fluency and spirit. The conversation was lively and varied; and it was maintained for upwards of two hours. The following are the principal particulars which I noted down. I shall probably in some measure repeat what I have said before, for the Emperor and Colonel Wilks had some months ago a long conversation on precisely the same topics; but that is of no importance; these subjects are so interesting, that I would rather incur the risk of repeating, than of losing any thing connected with them.

The Emperor began by speaking of the English army, its organization, and particularly its system of promotion. He compared it with the French army, and repeated what I have formerly stated with regard to the excellent composition of our military force, the advantage of the Conscription, and the bravery of our troops. Then, turning to the subject of politics, he said, "You lost "America by affranchisement; you will lose "India by invasion. The first loss was per- "fectly natural; as children advance in years, "they break their parental bonds. But, for the "Hindoos, they are not advancing at all. They "still remain children. The catastrophe, there-

"fore can only proceed from without. You are "not aware of all the dangers with which you "were threatened by my arms or my negotia- "tions. As for my Continental system, you "perhaps laughed at it?" "Sire," replied the "Colonel, "we affected to do so, but all men of "judgment felt the full force of it."—"Well," "continued the Emperor, "I stood alone in my "opinion on the Continent; and I was forced for "the moment to employ violence every where. "At length my plan began to be understood. "The tree already bears its fruit. I made the "beginning; time will do the rest . . . . . Had "I maintained my power, I would have changed "the course of trade, and the direction of indus- "try. I had naturalized sugar and indigo in "France, and I should have naturalized cotton, "and many other articles of foreign produce. "I should have knocked up the Colonies, if we "had continued to be denied a share of them.

"With us the impulse was most powerful. Na- "tional prosperity and science advanced beyond "measure. Yet your Ministers proclaimed through "all Europe that the French were overwhelmed "with misery, and were retrograding to a state of "barbarism. Thus the view of our internal pros- "perity strangely surprised the vulgar mass, and "even disconcerted the more thinking portion of "the European public. The strides of knowledge "in France were gigantic. The ideas of the

"French people were every where properly di-
"rected and extended. We took pains to render
"science popular. I was informed that your
"countrymen were distinguished for their know-
"ledge of chemistry; and yet I will not decide
"on which side of the water the most able che-
"mists will be found."—"In France," said the Colonel immediately.

"It is of little importance," continued the Emperor; "but I maintain that in the mass of
"the French people there is ten, and perhaps a
"hundred times more chemical knowledge than
"in England; because the manufacturing classes
"now employ that science in their daily labour.
"This was one of the characteristics of my
"school. Had I been allowed sufficient time,
"there would soon have been no such thing as
"trades in France; they would all have been
"converted into arts."

The Emperor concluded with these remarkable observations: "England and France held in their
"hands the fate of the world; and particularly
"that of European civilization. What injury did
"we not do each other! . . . What good might
"we not have done! Under Pitt's system we
"desolated the world; and what has been the
"result? You imposed on France a tax of fifteen
"hundred millions of francs, and raised it by
"means of Cossacks. I laid a tax of seven
"thousand millions on you, and made you raise

" it with your own hands, by your Parlia-
" ment. Even now, after the victory you have
" obtained, who can tell whether you may not
" sooner or later sink under the weight of such a
" burden? . . . . With Fox's system, we should
" have understood each other . . . . . , we should
" have accomplished and preserved the emanci-
" pation of nations, the dominion of principles.
" Europe would have presented but a single
" fleet, and a single army. We might have ruled
" the world. We might every where have esta-
" blished peace and prosperity, either by dint of
" force or persuasion . . . . . Yes, I
" repeat, what mischief have we not done! What
" good might we not have effected!"

Never was Napoleon in a more talkative humour. He laughed more than once at the endeavours I made to interpret his observations amidst the volubility with which he uttered them. As for the Colonel, he took his leave, amazed and confounded by what he had heard.

When he was gone, the Emperor continued to converse for a long time in the drawing-room. He afterwards went into the garden in spite of the bad weather, and sent for us all to join him. He was desirous of reading the declarations which we had made; they became the subject of conversation.

Four ships arrived here to-day from Europe. They had on board the 66th regiment, and had

left England before the Phaëton, which brought the new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe.

After dinner, the Emperor good-humouredly related the remark made by an old soldier of the 53d, who, having seen him yesterday for the first time, went back to his comrades and said,—"What lies "they told me about Napoleon's age; he is not "old at all; the rogue has at least sixty cam- "paigns in his body yet." We thought this expression savoured very much of the Frenchman, and we laid claim to it as having proceeded from one of our grenadiers. We then related to him a number of *bons-mots* made by our soldiers during his absence and on his return, with which he was much entertained. But what particularly excited his risibility was the answer made by a grenadier at Lyons. A grand review was held there, just after the Emperor had landed on his return from Elba. The Commanding Officer remarked to his soldiers, that they were well clothed and well fed, that their pay might be seen upon their persons;—"Yes, certainly," replied the grenadier to whom he addressed himself.—"Well!" continued the Officer, with a confident air, "it was "not so under Bonaparte. Your pay was in ar- "rears, he was in your debt?"—"And what did "that signify," said the grenadier smartly, "if "we chose to give him credit?"

The Emperor's message to the Prince Regent.—Characteristic remarks.—Portfolio lost at Waterloo.—On Ambassadors.—M. de Narbonne.—Napoleon on the point of being taken prisoner in Germany after the battle of Moscow.—Cost of the Emperor's toilette.—Expense of a family establishment in the different capitals of Europe.—The furnishing of Napoleon's house in the Rue de la Victoire.—The fitting up of the Imperial Palaces.—The Emperor's method of examining his accounts.

21st.—The Emperor sent for me to attend him in the garden, about four o'clock, to act as interpreter. Captain Hamilton, the Commander of the frigate Havannah, was to sail next day for Europe, and with his officers had come to take leave of the Emperor. Captain Hamilton spoke French. When I joined the party in the garden, the Emperor was expressing himself with warmth.

"They wish to know what I desire?" said he; "I demand my liberty or my death. Report "these words to your Prince Regent. I no longer "ask to hear from my Son, since they have had "the barbarity to leave my first request unan- "swered. . . . . I was not your prisoner. Sa- "vages would have had more respect for my si- "tuation. Your Ministers have basely violated "in my person the sacred rights of hospitality; "they have for ever dishonoured England!"

Captain Hamilton having ventured to observe that Napoleon was not the prisoner of England

alone, but of all the Allied Powers, the Emperor warmly resumed; "I did not deliver myself up "to Russia, there I should doubtless have been "well received; I did not surrender myself to "Austria, there I should have been equally well "treated; but I delivered myself up, of my own "free will and choice, to England, because I had "confidence in her laws and her public morals. "I have been cruelly deceived! But Heaven will "avenge my wrongs, and sooner or later you "will meet the punishment of a deed for which "mankind already reproaches you! . . . . . "Repeat all this to the Prince Regent, Sir." He accompanied these last words with a motion of his hand, and dismissed the Captain.

We walked about for a few minutes, and on the return of the Grand Marshal, who had accompanied Captain Hamilton a short distance, we thought it would be proper to leave him alone with the Emperor; but I had scarcely entered my room when he sent for me. He was alone in his own apartment; he asked me whether I had not had enough of retirement during the day. I told him that a feeling of respect and discretion had alone induced me to leave him. To this he answered, that there was no occasion for it, as nothing had passed that he wished to make a secret of. "Besides," added he, "a certain de- "gree of freedom and ease is not without its "charm." These words, which fell carelessly

from Napoleon's mouth, may better serve to show his character than hundreds of pages.

We then perused an English publication, containing the official documents found in the Portfolio, which was taken from Napoleon at Waterloo. The Emperor was astonished himself at the number of orders which he had issued almost at the same moment, and the countless details which he had directed in every quarter of the empire. "This publication," said he, "can do me no harm, after "all. It will at least satisfy every one that its "contents are not the production of a sluggard. "They will compare me with the legitimate Sove-"reigns, and I shall not suffer by the compa-"rison."

After dinner, the Emperor conversed on several unconnected subjects. In speaking of his Ambassadors, he said he considered M. de Narbonne as the only one who had fully deserved that title, and had really fulfilled the duties of his office. "And that," said he, "by the peculiar "advantages, not only of his talent, but of his "old-fashioned morals, his manners, and his name. "When an Ambassador has merely to prescribe, "any one may fill the post; one person is just "as good as another; perhaps an aide-de-camp "is the best man that can be chosen. But when "it is necessary to negotiate, the affair is widely "different. In that case it is indispensable to "present to the old aristocracy of the Courts of

" Europe, only the elements of that aristocracy,
" which, in fact, constitutes a sort of free-masonry.
" If an Otto or an Andreossi were to enter the
" saloons of Vienna, there would be a stop to the
" interchange of opinion; habitual manners would
" cease. They would be regarded as intruders
" and profaners, and the mysteries of diplomacy
" would be suspended. But how different would
" it be with a Narbonne, possessing the advan-
" tages of affinity, sympathy, and identity! A
" lady of the old nobility would perhaps resign
" her person to a plebeian, though she would
" not discover to him the secrets of the aristo-
" cracy."

The Emperor was much attached to M. de Narbonne, and regretted him deeply. He had made him his aide-de-camp, he observed, only because Maria Louisa, through the intrigues of the persons composing her suite, had refused to have him appointed her gentleman of honour; a post for which he was perfectly adapted. " Until
" the period of his embassy," continued the Emperor, " we had been duped by Austria. In less
" than a fortnight M. de Narbonne penetrated
" all the secrets of the Vienna cabinet, and
" M. de Metternich was deeply mortified at the
" appointment. However, by a singular fatality,
" perhaps, even the success of M. de Narbonne
" thwarted my views. I found his talent was no
" less fatal than useful. Austria, thinking her

" designs were guessed, threw aside the mask,
" and took precipitate steps. Had less penetra-
" tion been evinced on our part, she would have
" acted with greater reserve and deliberation. She
" would have prolonged her natural indecision,
" and in the interim other chances might have
" risen up."

Some one present having alluded to the embassies of Dresden and Berlin, and being apparently inclined to attach blame to our diplomatic agents in those courts, at the period of the return from Moscow, the Emperor replied, that at that period the fault was not to be attributed to persons, but to things; that with a single glance any one might have foreseen what would happen; and that, for his part, he had not been deceived for a moment. He added, that if he had not in person conducted the army back to Wilna, and into Germany, it was through the fear of not being able himself to reach France. He wished, he said, to obviate this imminent danger by the boldness of his movements in crossing Germany rapidly and alone. He was, however, on the point of being taken in Silesia: " But luckily," said he, " the Prussians were deliberating at the
" moment when they ought to have been acting.
" Their conduct in this respect was like that
" which the Saxons observed towards Charles
" XII. who said, when he quitted Dresden on a
" similar occasion :—" You will see that they will

" hold a consultation to-morrow upon the expe-
" diency of having detained me to-day."

Before dinner the Emperor called me into his closet to go over some English exercises with him. He told me he had just been calculating the expenses of his toilette, and that it cost him about four napoleons per month. We laughed at the immensity of the budget. He talked of ordering some clothes, shoes, boots, &c. from the tradesmen in Europe who had his measures. I thought this would be attended with serious inconvenience, and, after some consideration, we were convinced that this would never be permitted.

" It is, however," observed the Emperor, " extremely vexatious to be thus deprived of " money; and I wish to come to some settlement " on this point. As soon as the bill, which is to " determine our situation here, shall be notified " to me, I intend to make arrangements for re-" ceiving an annual loan of seven or eight millions " of napoleons from Eugène. He cannot refuse " me. He has received from me perhaps up-" wards of forty millions; and it would be an " insult to his sentiments to doubt his readiness " to serve me. Besides we have long accounts " to settle together. I am sure, if I had ap-" pointed a committee of my Counsellors of State " to draw up a report on this subject, they " would have presented me with a balance of at " least ten or twelve millions on Eugène."

At dinner the Emperor asked us some questions respecting the sum necessary to enable a bachelor to live in a European capital, or for the support of a plain family establishment, or the maintenance of a family in a style of elegance. He is fond of these questions and calculations; he treats them with great shrewdness, and enters into the most curious details.

We each presented our budgets, and we agreed that a residence in Paris would cost 15,000, 40,000, and 100,000 francs. The Emperor dwelt much on the prices of various articles, and even on the prices of the same articles, as they are charged to different persons, and under different circumstances.

"When I was about to leave the army of "Italy," said he, "to return to Paris, Madame "Bonaparte wrote to inform me that she had "furnished, in the best possible style, a small "house that we had in the *Rue de la Victoire*. "The house was not worth more than 40,000 "francs. What was my surprise and vexation to "find that the drawing-room furniture, which, "after all, appeared to me nothing out of the "way, was charged at the enormous rate of be-"tween 120 and 130,000 francs. In vain did I "remonstrate; I was obliged to pay the amount. "The upholsterer showed me the directions he "had received, and which required that every "article should be the very best in its kind.

"Every thing had been made after new designs, "and the designs themselves had been invented "expressly for the fitting up of my house. Any "judge of the case must have condemned me."

The Emperor then adverted to the extravagant charges made for furnishing the imperial Palaces, and the vast economy which he had introduced on this point. He told us the price of the throne, the imperial ornaments, &c. Nothing could be more curious than to hear him detail these charges, together with his own plans of economy. How much I regret not having noted them down at the time! The following particulars will serve to show some of the methods which he adopted, for ascertaining the correctness of the accounts that were presented to him:—

On one occasion, when he returned to the Tuileries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, the individuals who attended him eagerly drew his attention to all the new furniture and decorations. After expressing his satisfaction at every thing he saw, he walked up to a window overhung with a rich curtain, and asking for a pair of scissars, he cut off a superb gold acorn which was suspended from the drapery, and coolly putting it into his pocket he continued his inspection to the great astonishment of all present, who were unable to guess his motive. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket and gave it to

the individual who superintended the furnishing of the palace. "Here," said he, "Heaven for-"bid that I should think you rob me; but some "one has doubtless robbed you. You have paid "for this at the rate of one-third above its value. "They have dealt with you as though you had "been the steward of a great nobleman. You "would have made a better bargain if you had "not been known." The fact was, that Napoleon having walked out one morning in disguise, (as he was often in the habit of doing) visited some of the shops in the Rue Saint Denis, where he priced ornaments similar to that which he had cut from the curtain, and enquired the value of various articles of furniture like those provided for the palace, and thus, as he said, he arrived at the result in its simplest form. Every one knew his habits in this respect. These, he said were his grand plans for ensuring domestic economy, which, notwithstanding his extreme magnificence, was carried to the utmost degree of precision and regularity.

In spite of his numerous occupations he himself revised all his accounts; but he had his own method of doing this, and they were always made out to him in their details. He would cast his eye on the first article, sugar for example, and finding some millions of pounds set down, he would take a pen, and say to the person who drew up the accounts: "How many individuals are

" there in my household?"—" Sire, so many:" (and it was necessary to give the answer immediately.)—" And how many pounds of sugar do " you suppose they consume per day on an " average?"—" Sire, so many."—He immediately made his calculation, and having satisfied himself, he would give back the paper, saying, " Sir, I have doubled your estimate of the daily " consumption, and yet you are enormously be- " yond the mark. Your account is faulty. Make " it out again, and let me have greater correct- " ness." This reproof would be sufficient to establish the strictest regularity. Thus he sometimes said of his private as of his public administration, " I have introduced such order, and " employed so many checks, that I cannot be " much imposed on. If I am wronged at all, I " leave the guilty person to settle the matter " with his own conscience. He will not sink " under the weight of his crime, for it cannot " be very heavy."

The Governor's visit to my apartment.—Critique on Voltaire's Mahomet.—Remarks on the Mahomet of history.—Gretry.

22d—25th. The weather has been very bad for several days past. The Emperor discontinued his morning walks, and applied himself with greater regularity to his different occupations. He dictated every morning on the events of 1814.

Sir Hudson Lowe came to visit our establishment. He entered my apartment and remained there for a quarter of an hour. He expressed his regret for the inconveniences to which we were exposed; and observed that we were lodged in bivouacs, rather than in apartments. He was right; the pitched paper which had been used for the rooms was already beginning to yield to the effect of the hot climate: when the sun shone I was stifled; and when it rained I was inundated. Sir Hudson Lowe said he would give directions for having these evils remedied as far as possible, and politely added, that he had brought with him about 1500 or 2000 French volumes, which, as soon as they should be arranged, he would feel great pleasure in placing at our service.

Racine and Voltaire occupied us for these two or three evenings. Phedre and Athalie, which were read to us by the Emperor, afforded us delightful entertainment; for his observations and commentaries gave twofold interest to what he read.

Mahomet was the subject of deep criticism. "Voltaire," said the Emperor, "in the character "and conduct of his hero, has departed both "from nature and history. He has degraded "Mahomet, by making him descend to the low-"est intrigues. He has represented a great man "who changed the face of the world, acting like "a scoundrel, worthy of the gallows. He has "no less absurdly travestied the character of

"Omar, which he has drawn like that of a cut-
" throat in a melo-drama.

" Voltaire committed a fundamental error in
" attributing to intrigue that which was solely
" the result of opinion. Those who have wrought
" great changes in the world, never succeeded by
" gaining over chiefs; but always by exciting the
" multitude. The first is the resource of intrigue,
" and produces only secondary results; the se-
" cond is the resort of genius, and transforms the
" face of the universe!"

The Emperor, adverting to the truth of history, expressed his disbelief of all that was attributed to Mahomet. " He must doubtless have been
" like all chiefs of sects," said he. " The Koran,
" having been written thirty years after his death,
" may have recorded many falsehoods. The em-
" pire of the Prophet, his doctrine and his mis-
" sion, being established and fulfilled, people
" might and must have spoken accordingly. Still
" it remains to be explained how the mighty
" event which we are certain did take place,
" namely, the conquest of the world, could have
" been effected in the short space of fifty or sixty
" years. By whom was it brought about? By
" the hordes of the desert, who, as we are informed,
" were few in number, ignorant, unwarlike, un-
" disciplined, and destitute of system. And yet
" they opposed the civilized world, abounding
" in resources. Fanaticism could not have ac-

"complished this miracle, for fanaticism must "have had time to establish her dominion, and "the career of Mahomet lasted only thirteen "years."—The Emperor conceived that, independently of the fortuitous events by which miracles are sometimes produced, there must have been in this case some hidden circumstance which has never been transmitted to our knowledge. He was of opinion, that Europe had doubtless sunk beneath the results of some first cause, of which we are ignorant;—that the different races of people, who suddenly issued from the deserts, had perhaps been engaged in long civil wars, in which men of heroic character and great talent might have risen up, and irresistible impulses have been created.

In all that relates to oriental affairs, Napoleon departed materially from the common opinions which are derived from the books usually regarded as authorities. He said that on this subject he entertained ideas peculiar to himself, though perhaps they were not very well defined; and that his Egypt expedition had brought about this result in his mind.

"But to return to Voltaire," said he, "it is "astonishing how ill his dramas are adapted for "reading.—When criticism and good taste are "not cheated by pomp of diction and scenic illu-"sion, he immediately loses a thousand per cent. "It will scarcely be believed," continued he,

" that at the time of the Revolution, Voltaire had
" superseded Corneille and Racine. The beauties
" of these two great dramatists lay dormant, until
" the First Consul again ushered them into
" notice."

The Emperor spoke truly. It is very certain that when he brought us back to civilization, he at the same time restored us to good taste. He revived our national dramatic and lyric chefs d'œuvre,—even those pieces which had been proscribed for political reasons. Thus *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* was again brought upon the stage, though a tender interest had as it were consecrated it to the Bourbons.

" Poor Gretry," said the Emperor, " had long
" urged me to permit the performance of the
" opera. It was rather a dangerous experiment,
" and a violent uproar was predicted. The repre-
" sentation however went off without any un-
" pleasant circumstances, and I ordered it to be
" repeated for a week and a fortnight in succes-
" sion, until the public were completely tired of
" it. The charm being broken, Richard con-
" tinued to be played like any ordinary piece,
" until the time when the Bourbons in their turn
" prohibited it, because it excited an interest in
" my favour."

This strange vicissitude has, it is said, since been renewed with regard to the drama of *Prince Edward the Pretender*. The Emperor prohibited

the piece on account of the Bourbons, and the Bourbons have recently proscribed it on account of the Emperor.

My visit to Plantation House.—Sir Hudson Lowe's insinuations.—His first ill-natured trick.—Napoleon's proclamations.—His policy in Egypt.—His confession of an illegal act.

26th.—I went to pay my first visit to Plantation-house. I thought Lady Lowe a pretty and amiable woman, though there was something of the actress about her. Sir Hudson Lowe married a short time before his departure from Europe, for the express purpose, it is said, of having his wife to assist him in doing the honours of the colony. I understand this lady was the widow of an officer of the regiment which Sir Hudson Lowe formerly commanded, and the sister of a colonel killed at Waterloo.

The Governor showed me the most marked politeness and attention. He remarked that we were old acquaintances, though I was not aware of the fact. He said he had been much gratified by the perusal of *M. Lesage's Atlas*, though he had never dreamed that he should one day be introduced to the author. He had first seen the work in Sicily, where he got it smuggled from Naples; and he was inexhaustible in his praises of it. He had frequently read the account of the battle of Jena, with General Blucher, at the

head quarters where he was English commissioner, during the campaign of 1814. He said, he had always admired the liberal expressions and the spirit of moderation and impartiality which were observed towards England; but that at the period when he first examined the work, he had been forcibly struck by some equivocal passages, which seemed to breathe hostility or reproach to the individual who then governed us. He added, that he had accounted for these passages at the time, by my character and doctrines as an emigrant; but that now he thought it a singular contradiction, to find me here in the suite of that individual.

Now we had just been informed that Sir Hudson Lowe was, when in Italy, a kind of Head Police Officer, and an active agent of the . . . and . . . . . systems. I could not help suspecting, that a certain insinuation was intended to be conveyed in these remarks. If this were really the fact (and the Emperor entertained no doubt of it,) then at least the business was cleverly managed on his part; and had I felt less self-respect than I did, I could have given a smart retort, and the matter might have been carried to some length. I, however, merely replied that he had totally misunderstood the application of the equivocal passages in question, and that they could not have any reference to Napoleon, since I was now attached to his person.

On my return home, I found two French works which Sir H. Lowe had sent to me in the morning, accompanied by a note, in which he expressed a hope that their perusal would be gratifying to the Emperor. Will it be credited? One of these works was the Abbé de Pradt's Embassy to Warsaw. This I may note down as Sir Hudson Lowe's *first ill-natured trick*. The work was a novelty, it is true; but it was a libel solely directed against Napoleon.

As to the other book, when I first saw it, I thought I had found a treasure. I imagined it would indemnify us for the want of the Moniteurs, and furnish us with the materials we stood so much in need of. Its title described it to be a collection of all the proclamations and official documents of Napoleon, as General, First Consul, and Emperor. But it was published by the libelist Goldsmith, and was very incomplete, the finest bulletins being suppressed, the addresses to the Legislative Body mutilated, &c. But even in this imperfect state, the collection still remains the noblest monument that any man ever left behind him.

After dinner the Emperor amused himself by reading, in Goldsmith's publication, some of his own proclamations to the army of Italy. They even produced a powerful impression on himself; they interested and excited him. "And yet," said he, "they had the impudence to say I could "not write!"

He then turned to his proclamations to the army of Egypt, and joked much about that one in which he represented himself as inspired and sent by God. "This was quackery," said he; "but it was quackery of the highest order. Be- "sides, the proclamation was composed only for "the purpose of being translated into high-flown "Arabic verse by one of the cleverest of the "Sheiks. My French troops," continued he, "merely laughed at it; and such was their dis- "position in this respect, that in order to induce "them to listen to the bare mention of religion, "I was myself obliged to speak very lightly on "the subject, to place Jews beside Christians, "and Rabbis beside Bishops, &c."

The assertion made by Goldsmith of Napoleon's having assumed the Mussulman dress, is totally false. If ever he entered a mosque, he said, it was always as a conqueror, and not as a wor- shipper. On this subject I refer the reader to the Campaigns of Egypt. He was of too serious a turn, and had too much self-respect to act in an equivocal way on this point.

"After all," continued he, gaily, "it would "not have been so very extraordinary, even "though circumstances had induced me to em- "brace Islamism; and, as a good Queen of "France once said, '*You will tell me as much!*' . . "." . . . But I must have had good reasons for "my conversion. I must have been secure of

"advancing as far as the Euphrates, at least. "Change of religion for private interest is inex- "cusable; but it may be pardoned in considera- "tion of immense political results. Henry IV. "said, '*Paris is well worth a mass.*' Will it then "be said that the dominion of the East, and per- "haps the subjugation of all Asia, were not "worth a turban and a pair of trowsers? And, "in truth, the whole matter was reduced to this; "for the grand Sheiks had studied how to render "it easy to us. They had smoothed down the "greatest obstacles; allowed us the use of wine, "and dispensed with all corporeal formalities. "We should therefore have lost only our small- "clothes and hats. I say we; for the army, in "the disposition in which it then was, would "have entertained but few scruples on the sub- "ject, and would have made it a mere matter of "jest and laughter. But what would have been "the consequence! I should have turned my "back on Europe, and the old civilization of the "continent would have been bound up. And "who would then have troubled themselves "about the course of Fate in France, or the re- "generation of the age! . . . Who would have "attempted it! Who could have succeeded!"

Continuing his examination of Goldsmith's book, the Emperor by chance cast his eyes on the Act of the Consuls, by which General Latour Foissac was cashiered for the surrender of Mantua. "This

said the Emperor, "was, without doubt, an illegal "and tyrannical act, but it was a necessary evil; "it was the fault of the laws. The general was "a hundred and a thousand times guilty, and yet "it was doubtful whether we ought to have con- "demned him. His acquittal would have pro- "duced the most fatal effect. We therefore "struck the blow with the combined arms of "honour and opinion. But I say again, it was "a tyrannical act, one of those severe strokes "which are sometimes indispensably necessary in "a great nation, and under important circum- "stances."

The first insult, and the first instance of cruelty, on the part of the Governor.—Characteristic traits.

27th.—About two o'clock the Governor came to Longwood, and asked the Emperor's leave to summon all the domestics before him. *This was the first insult received from the Governor.*

He probably wished to ascertain whether their declarations had been spontaneously made. M. de Montholon, who had the superintendence of the servants, informed Sir Hudson Lowe in the Emperor's name, that his Majesty had not imagined there could have been any pretence for interference between him and his *valet de chambre* That if his permission were asked, he decidedly refused it. That if the Governor's instructions

required the adoption of this measure, the power was in his own hands, and he might use it; this would only be adding another outrage to those which the English Ministers had already accumulated upon him.

At this moment I joined M. de Montholon and the Governor. I could easily perceive that the two interlocutors were by no means pleased with each other. After a few moments of silence and evident dissatisfaction, the Governor turned to me and remarked, that pains seemed to be taken to create difficulties and embarrassments in all that regarded the Emperor. I observed that Napoleon's household having been appointed for him, and not being one of his choice, it was perfectly natural that he should object to any interference with his servants. That if the Governor had any doubts to clear up relative to the domestics, two courses were open to him. He might resort to indirect and underhand means, which at least would not wound our feelings; or he might employ force and severity, which he was authorized to do if he pleased, and therefore he need entertain no scruples on the subject. But I added, that the method he was pursuing was quite hostile to our habits. I assured him that the Emperor was desirous of being as accommodating as possible, in the new situation in which he was placed: that he wished to retire within himself, asking for nothing, but to be left unan-

noyed to feel and consume his sorrow: that fortune had indeed robbed him of his power, but that nothing could deprive him of his self-respect: and, finally, that the consciousness and the delicacy of his dignity were the only things that remained to him of which he was perfectly master.

Meanwhile the servants were assembled, and M. de Montholon and I withdrew, that we might not sanction such a measure by our presence. The Governor spoke to the domestics, and afterwards joined us, saying:—"I am now satisfied. I can "inform the English Government that they all "signed it freely and voluntarily."

But his ill-humour was not yet fully spent; for he began most inopportunely to extol the beautiful situation of Longwood, observing that, after all, we were not so very badly off. And when we remarked, that we felt most severely the want of shade in this burning climate, and that there was scarcely a single tree on the Island, "*Oh! we will plant some,*" said he. Could any thing have been more cutting! . . . . This may be recorded as *the first trait of brutality on the part of the Governor.* After this he took his leave.

About five o'clock the Emperor got into the carriage to take an airing. As we were going out, he said, "*Gentlemen, but for one man I should "have been master of the world!* And who do you "think this one man was?". We were all eager-

ness to know. . . . " The Abbé de Pradt," continued the Emperor, " the Almoner of the God " of War." On hearing this we could not repress our laughter. " I am serious," continued he, " the Abbé thus expresses himself in his Embassy " to Warsaw; you may read it yourselves. The " work is altogether a wicked attack on me, an " absolute libel overwhelming me with insults " and calumnies. Whether I happened to be in " a particularly good humour at the time, or " whether it was because only truth offends, I " know not; but, at all events, I laughed heartily " when I read the work, and it afforded me abun- " dant entertainment."

Misunderstandings occasionally occurred between two individuals of the Emperor's suite. This circumstance would not have been mentioned here, but that it serves to introduce some characteristic traits of the mind and heart of him to whom we are devoted. The newspapers of the time, and the return of one of the parties to Europe, in consequence of these misunderstandings, however, have already given publicity to the affair.

When I entered the drawing-room, to wait until the announcement of dinner, I found the Emperor speaking with the utmost warmth on this subject, which vexed him exceedingly. His language was energetic and moving.

" You followed me," said he, " with the view " of cheering my captivity! Be united then!

" otherwise you but annoy me. If you wish to " render me happy, be united: otherwise you " are but a torment to me! You talk of fight- " ing even before my very eyes. I am no longer " then the object of your attention. You forget " that the observation of foreigners is fixed on " you. . . . . I wish you all to be animated by " my spirit. . . . . I wish that every individual " around me should be happy, and share the few " enjoyments that yet remain to us. Even down " to little Emmanuel there, I would wish you all " to have your due share . . . ."

The announcement of dinner put an end to the reprimand. The Emperor was silent during the repast; but at the dessert he ordered Voltaire to be brought to him, and began to read some of his dramas. But he soon laid aside the books. We daily became more and more tired of Voltaire.

The Emperor retired very early, and soon after desired me to attend him in his bed-chamber, where I remained with him until a late hour.

The Abbé de Pradt, and his Embassy to Warsaw.—The Russian War.—Its origin.

28th.—The Emperor again recurred to the Abbé de Pradt, and his work, which he reduced to merely the first and last pages. " In the first," said he, " he states himself to be the only man " who arrested Napoleon's career; in the last,

"he shows that the Emperor, in his way back "from Moscow, dismissed him from the embassy, "which is true; and this fact his self-love would "fain misrepresent or revenge. This is the whole "work. . . . . .

"But the Abbé," continued the Emperor, "did not fulfil at Warsaw any of the objects "which had been intended; on the contrary, he "did a great deal of mischief. Reports against "him poured in upon me from every quarter. "Even the young men, the clerks attached to the "embassy, were surprised at his conduct, and "went so far as to accuse him of maintaining an "understanding with the enemy; which, however, "I by no means believed. But he certainly "had a long conversation with me, which he "misrepresents, as might be expected; and it "was at the very moment when he was deliver- "ing a long prosing speech, which appeared to "me a mere string of absurdity and impertinence, that I scrawled on the corner of the "chimney-piece the order to withdraw him "from his embassy, and to send him as soon as "possible to France;* a circumstance which "was the cause of a good deal of merriment at "the time, and which the Abbé seems very desirous of concealing."

I cannot refrain from transcribing from the

* See the letters from the Cape.

Embassy to Warsaw, M. de Pradt's account of the Emperor Napoleon's court at Dresden. His remarks on this subject are striking, and afford a faithful picture both of men and things at that period.

"You," he says, "who wish to form a just idea of the omnipotence exercised in Europe by the Emperor Napoleon . . . . . ., who wish to fathom the depths of terror into which almost every European sovereign has fallen, ... transport yourselves in imagination to Dresden, and there contemplate that superb Prince, at the period of his highest glory, so nearly bordering on his fall!

"The Emperor occupied the grand apartments of the Chateau, whither he had transferred a considerable portion of his household. Here he gave grand dinner parties; and, with the exception of the first Sunday, when the King of Saxony had a gala, Napoleon's parties were always attended by the Sovereigns and different members of their families, according to the invitations issued by the Grand Marshal of the Palace. Some private individuals were admitted on these occasions. I enjoyed that honour on the day of my appointment to the embassy of Warsaw.

"The Emperor's levees were held here, as at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. Then with what timid submission did a crowd of Princes, mingling with the courtiers, and often scarcely per-

ceived among them, anxiously await the moment for presenting themselves before the new arbitrator of their destinies."

These passages, and some others of equal truth and beauty of diction, are lost amidst a heap of details full of misrepresentation and malice. " They " are distorted facts and mutilated conversations," said the Emperor: and adverting to the accounts of the Empress of Austria, which were filled with adulation, and of the Emperor Alexander, whose amiable virtues and brilliant qualifications are extolled by the author, to the detriment of Napoleon, " Surely," exclaimed the Emperor, " this " is not a French bishop, but an eastern magi— " a worshipper of the rising sun." I shall both now and henceforward suppress, from a feeling of justice, several other articles and many details. The following observations may however be noted down, in opposition to the Abbé de Pradt's endeavours to prove that the French were the unjust aggressors in the contest with Russia.

The Emperor, speaking of the Russian war, said: " No events are trifling with regard to na- " tions and sovereigns; for their destinies are con- " trolled by the most inconsiderable circum- " stances. For some time a misunderstanding " had risen up between France and Russia. " France reproached Russia with the violation of " the continental system, and Russia required an " indemnification for the Duke of Oldenburg, and

" raised other pretensions. Russian troops were " approaching the Duchy of Warsaw, and a " French army was forming in the north of Ger- " many. Yet we were far from being deter- " mined on war, when, all on a sudden, a new " Russian army commenced its march towards " the Duchy; and, as an ultimatum, an insolent " note was presented at Paris by the Russian " Ambassador, who, in the event of its non-accep- " tance, threatened to quit Paris in eight days. " I considered this as a declaration of war. It " was long since I had been accustomed to this " sort of tone. I was not in the habit of allowing " myself to be anticipated. I could have marched " to Russia at the head of the rest of Europe; the " enterprise was popular; the cause was one " which interested Europe. It was the last effort " that remained to France. Her fate, and that of " the new European system, depended on the " struggle. Russia was the last resource of Eng- " land. The peace of the whole world rested " with Russia. The event could not be doubtful. " I commenced my march; but when I reached " the frontier, I, to whom Russia had declared " war by withdrawing her Ambassador, still con- " sidered it my duty to send mine (Lauriston) to " the Emperor Alexander at Wilna; he was re- " jected, and the war commenced!

" Yet, who would credit it? Alexander and " myself were in the situation of two bullies,

" who, without wishing to fight, were endeavour-
" ing to terrify each other. I would most wil-
" lingly have maintained peace; I was surrounded
" and overwhelmed with unfavourable circum-
" stances, and all that I have since learned, con-
" vinces me that Alexander was still less eager
" for war than myself.

" M. de Romanzoff, who had maintained com-
" munications at Paris, and who some time after,
" when the Russians experienced reverses, was
" very severely treated by Alexander, for the
" course he had induced him to pursue, had as-
" sured the Russian Emperor, that the moment
" was come when Napoleon, in his embarrass-
" ments, would readily make some sacrifices to
" avoid war; that the favourable opportunity
" should not be allowed to escape; that it was
" only necessary to assume a bold attitude, and
" a tone of firmness; that indemnity would be
" obtained for the Duke of Oldenburg; that
" Dantzick would be gained, and that Russia
" would thus acquire immense weight in Europe.

" Such was the cause of the movement of
" the Russian troops, and of the insolent note
" of Prince Kurakin, who, doubtless, was not
" in the secret, and who had been foolish enough
" to execute his instructions in too literal a way.
" The same mistaken notions, and the same sys-
" tem also, occasioned the refusal to receive Lau-
" riston at Wilna. This was an instance of the

" errors and misfortunes which attended my new " diplomacy. It stood insulated, without affinity " or contact, in the midst of the objects which it " had to direct. Had my Minister for Foreign " Affairs been a member of the old aristocracy, " and a man of superior ability, there is no doubt " but he must have observed the cloud that was " gathering, and might have prevented our going " to war. Talleyrand, perhaps, might have done " this; but it was above the powers of the new " school. I could not make the discovery " myself; my dignity precluded personal expla- " nations. I could form my judgment only from " documents, and in vain did I turn them over " and over, for I was sure at last to arrive at a " point where they could make no reply to my " enquiries.

" Scarcely had I opened the Campaign, when " the mask fell, and the real sentiments of the " enemy were developed. In the course of two " or three days Alexander, alarmed at our first " successes, despatched a messenger to me, to " say, that if I would evacuate the invaded ter- " ritory, and fall back as far as the Niemen, he " would enter upon negotiations. But I in my " turn took this for a stratagem. I was elated " with success; I had taken the Russian army " in the very fact, in the critical moment; I had " cut off Bagration, and I might have hoped to " destroy him. I thought, however, that the

" enemy merely wanted to gain time for the pur-
" pose of rallying his forces. Had I been convinced
" of Alexander's sincerity, I should doubtless have
" acceded to his proposition of falling back to the
" Niemen. In that case, he would not have passed
" the Dwina; Wilna would have been neutralized;
" and there Alexander and myself, accompanied
" by a few battalions of our guards, would have
" negotiated in person. How many arrangements
" should I not have proposed! . . . Alexander
" would have had only to take his choice, and
" we should have separated good friends.

" Yet, in spite of the events that succeeded,
" and which left my enemy triumphant, is it
" quite certain that the measures I have just
" hinted at would have been less advantageous
" than those which have since been pursued?
" Alexander marched to Paris, it is true, but he
" came accompanied by the forces of all Europe.
" He has gained Poland: but what will be the
" result of the shock given to the whole Euro-
" pean system; of the agitation into which every
" nation has been thrown; of the increase of
" European influence over the rest of Russia
" through the accumulation of new acquisitions;
" the expeditions in which the Russian troops are
" engaged in remote quarters; and the influence
" of the incongruous mass of men and knowledge
" which have taken refuge in Russia from foreign
" parts?

"Will the Russian Sovereigns be content to "consolidate what they have acquired? If, on "the contrary, they should be influenced by am- "bition, what extravagant enterprises may they "not attempt! And yet they have lost Moscow, "her wealth and resources, and those of many "other cities! These are wounds which will "bleed for half a century. But at Wilna we "might have entered into arrangements for the "advantage of all, subjects as well as sovereigns!"

On another occasion, the Emperor said, "I "might have shared with Russia the possession "of the Turkish empire. We had oftener than "once contemplated the idea, but Constantinople "was always the obstacle that opposed its exe- "cution. The Turkish capital was the grand "stumbling-block between us. Russia wanted "it, and I could not resign it. Constantinople "is an empire of itself. It is the real keystone "of power; for he who possesses it may rule the "world.

"What then?" said the Emperor, resuming the former question, "what has Alexander gained, "which he might not have secured to better ad- "vantage at Wilna?"—Some one present replied, "Sire, he has conquered, and he remains trium- "phant."—"That may be the vulgar opinion," exclaimed the Emperor, "but no Sovereign should "entertain such an idea. A Monarch, if he him- "self governs, or his counsellors, if they govern

" for him, must, in vast enterprises of this nature, " attach less importance to the victory than to its " results. And even though the case be limited " to vulgar considerations, still I maintain that " the wished-for object has not been attained. " Even here the palm must be awarded to the " vanquished party. Who will pretend that my " victories in Germany were equalled by the " successes of the Allies in France? Will any " thinking man, will any historian pronounce such " an opinion?

" The Allies advanced with all Europe in their " train, against a force which might be almost " counted as nothing. They had 600,000 men in " the line, and nearly an equal number in re- " serve. If they had been beaten, they had no- " thing to fear, they could have fallen back. I, " on the contrary, in Germany, 500 leagues from " home, had hardly a force equal to my enemy's. " I was surrounded by sovereigns and people " repressed only by fear, and who, on the first " disaster, were ready to rise against me. But I " triumphed amidst dangers constantly increas- " ing; I was incessantly compelled to exercise an " equal degree of address and energy. In all " these enterprises I found it necessary to main- " tain a strange character; to evince singular " acuteness of perception, and great confidence in " my own plans; though they were perhaps dis- " approved by every one around me.

" What deeds on the part of the Allies can be " compared with these? If I had not conquered " at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia on " me. If I had not proved victorious at Jena, " Austria and Spain would have assailed me in " my rear. If I had not triumphed at Wagram, " which, by the bye, was a less decisive victory, " I had to fear that Russia would abandon me, " that Prussia would rise against me; and mean- " while the English were already before Antwerp.

" Yet what was my conduct after the victory? " At Austerlitz I gave Alexander his liberty, " though I might have made him my prisoner.* " After Jena I left the House of Prussia in pos- " session of a throne which I had conquered: " after Wagram, I neglected to parcel out the " Austrian monarchy.

" If all this be attributed merely to magnani- " mity, cold and calculating politicians will doubt- " less blame me. But, without rejecting that " sentiment to which I am not a stranger, I had " higher aims in view. I wished to bring about

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* Since my return to Europe, I have been assured that there exist two notes, written in pencil by the Emperor Alexander, urgently soliciting that he might be allowed to pass. If this be true, what a singular vicissitude of fortune presents itself! The magnanimous Conqueror was doomed to perish in captivity, remote from Europe, and separated from his family; and this too, in the name of the conquered party, to whose prayers he had so generously listened.

" the amalgamation of the great European inter-
" ests, in the same manner as I had effected the
" union of parties in France. My ambition was
" one day to become the arbiter in the great cause
" of nations and kings; it was therefore necessary
" that I should secure to myself claims on their
" gratitude, and seek to render myself popular
" among them. This I could not do without
" losing something in the estimation of others.
" I was aware of this. But I was powerful and
" fearless. I concerned myself but little about
" transient popular murmurs, being very sure
" that the result would infallibly bring the people
" over to my side.

" I committed a great fault after the battle of
" Wagram, in not reducing the power of Austria
" still more. She remained too strong for our
" safety, and to her we must attribute our ruin.
" The day after the battle I should have made
" known by proclamation, that I would treat with
" Austria only on condition of the preliminary
" separation of the three crowns of Austria, Hun-
" gary, and Bohemia. Will it be credited? A
" Prince of the House of Austria several times
" hinted to me the idea of transferring one of
" the two last-mentioned crowns to him, or
" even raising him to the throne occupied by his
" own family, on pretence that it was only thus
" that Austria could be induced to act sincerely
" with me. He even proposed to give me, by way

" of hostage, ...
" . . . . . ., and, moreover, every
" possible guarantee."

The Emperor said he had even turned this idea over in his own mind. He had hesitated about it for some time previous to his marriage with Maria Louisa; but after that event, continued he, it became impracticable. He observed, that on the subject of marriage his notions were too citizen-like:—" Austria," said he, " had become a por-
" tion of my own family; and yet my marriage
" ruined me. If I had not thought myself safe,
" and protected by this alliance, I should have
" delayed the resurrection of Poland: I should
" have waited until Spain was subdued and tran-
" quil. I set foot on an abyss, concealed by a
" bed of flowers!"

The Emperor indisposed.—His first day of complete seclusion.—The Persian and Turkish Ambassadors.—Anecdotes.

29th.—About five o'clock the Grand Marshal visited me in my chamber. He had not been able to see the Emperor, who through indisposition had been confined to his own apartment all day, and refused to see any one. Towards evening I went out to take a stroll in those paths in which the Emperor usually walked about this time. I felt dull, being alone. We had dined without the Emperor.

About nine o'clock, just as I was regretting that the day had passed over without my seeing him, he sent for me. I expressed my concern for his indisposition. He replied, that he was perfectly well, but that he had taken a fancy to remain alone; that he had been reading all day, and that the time had passed away swiftly and agreeably.

He however appeared low-spirited and languid. He took my Atlas, which happened to be lying beside him, and opening it at the map of the world, he cast his eye on Persia. "I had laid out some "excellent plans, with regard to that country," said he. "What a happy resting point would it "have been for my lever, whether I wished to "disturb Russia, or to make an incursion on "India. I had set on foot relations with Persia, "and I hoped to bring them to a point of inti- "macy, as well as those with Turkey. It might "have been supposed, that the animals would "have understood their own interests sufficiently "well, to have acceded to my propositions; but "both Persians and Turks evaded me at the de- "cisive moment. English gold proved more "powerful than my plans. Some treacherous "ministers, for a few guineas, sacrificed the pros- "perity of their country; which is usually the "case under seraglio monarchs or imbecile kings."

The Emperor then abandoning politics, began to relate some anecdotes of the seraglio, and adverted to the Persians of Montesquieu, and his

letters, which he said were distinguished for wit, delicate observations, and above all, for the bitter satire of the time. He afterwards spoke of the Turkish and Persian Ambassadors who were in Paris during his reign. He asked me what impression they produced in the French capital; whether they made visits, and received company, &c.

I replied, that during their stay in Paris, they engrossed public attention, and formed a kind of raree-show at Court. The Persian in particular attracted curiosity. On his arrival he willingly received visitors, and as he made presents of perfumes, and even shawls, he was a great favourite with the ladies. But the great number of those who paid their court to him, soon forced him to set bounds to his liberality, and thenceforward, the rage being over, he was no longer thought of. I added, that at Court when the Emperor was not present, we sometimes ventured, very inconsiderately to be sure, to play off tricks at the expense of the oriental Ambassadors. At a concert given one day by the Empress Josephine, Asker-Kan with his long, painted beard was one of the company. He seemed to be heartily tired of the music, and fell asleep standing with his back against a wall, his feet thrust forward and resting against an armchair which stood in the corner by the fire-place. Some one, by way of joke, drew the chair away softly, so that his Excellency had well

nigh fallen down his whole length on the floor, and being thus roused from his slumber, he roared out lustily. Asker-Kan could more readily enter into a joke than the Turkish Ambassador; but on this occasion he was thrown much out of humour, and as we could only understand each other by gestures, the scene was most ludicrous. In the evening the Empress enquired the cause of the noise that had been heard during the concert; and when the circumstance was explained to her, she laughed and scolded us a good deal. "It was "very ill done, certainly," observed the Emperor; "but what business had he at the concert?"— "Sire," I replied, "both he and the Turkish Am- "bassador, went there with the view of paying "their court to you. They hoped that your Ma- "jesty would be apprized of the circumstance, "though you were at that time five hundred "leagues off." I added, that on other occasions they had both proved themselves accomplished courtiers, and that their wish to ingratiate themselves with the Emperor carried them to the most extravagant lengths. "We have often seen them," said I, "at the close of the grand diplomatic "audiences on Sunday, follow your Majesty to "mass, and occupy the pews in the chapel along "with Cardinals of the Holy Catholic Church."— "What a monstrous spectacle!" exclaimed the Emperor. "What a subversion of their prin- "ciples and habits!—What extraordinary things

"I brought about; and yet all this was neither "ordered nor observed."

The conversation continuing on the two orientals, I mentioned that I had been informed the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès once gave them both a grand dinner. Though natives of the same quarter of the globe, and members of the same religion, yet they nevertheless evinced shades of character totally different. The Turk, who was a disciple of Omar, was the Janneist, and the Persian, who was a sectary of Aly, was the Jesuist. It was said that at Cambacérès' dinner, they scrupulously watched each other with regard to the wine, just as two Catholic Bishops seated at the same table might be expected to keep a vigilant look out, lest either should be tempted to eat meat on a Friday.

The Turk was gloomy and ignorant, and was looked upon as little better than a brute; but the Persian possessed literary information, was very talkative, and had the reputation of being a clever man. It was observed that he made no use of a knife and fork, either in eating or helping himself to any dish at table; and he probably would not have hesitated to help his neighbours in the same unceremonious way. One of our customs particularly attracted his notice; this was our practice of eating bread with every dish. He said he could not understand why we

were obliged always to eat the same thing with every thing.

I believe I have already remarked that nothing amuses the Emperor so much as accounts of the fashionable world in Paris, anecdotes of our saloons, &c.

The Emigrants and the Faubourg St. Germain were subjects on which he was always fond of conversing with me when we were alone, and he accounted for this, by saying to me once, "I was "well acquainted with every thing that had re- "lation to myself, but I never knew any thing "of those affairs." He observed, that he had a natural desire to learn every thing that was passing near him, and to hear the chit-chat of little towns, &c. "I heard a great deal on these sub- "jects," added he, "during the period of my "power; but whenever any thing favourable was "said, I put myself on my guard—I was fearful "of insinuations; and if, on the contrary any "thing unfavourable was reported to me, I mis- "trusted the accusation, and had enough to do "to guard against a feeling of contempt. Here, "my dear Las Cases, none of these disadvantages "exist; you and I already belong to the other "world; we are conversing in the Elysian fields: "you are without interested views, and I am "without suspicion." I therefore eagerly seized every opportunity that offered itself, to entertain

the Emperor in this way. He perceived this, and gave me credit for my intentions; for, at the conclusion of one of my stories, he pinched my ear, and said in a tone of voice which delighted me: "I read a story in your Atlas of a Northern "Monarch who was immured in a prison, and "one of his soldiers solicited and obtained per- "mission to be imprisoned with him, in order "that he might cheer his spirits, either by in- "ducing him to converse, or by relating amusing "stories to him. My dear Las Cases, you are "that soldier." . . . . . .

On the present occasion I described to the Emperor, the hoax which had been played upon M. de Marbois, and which he had not heard of before. It was as follows: One day, as the story goes, Asker-Kan, who was indisposed, and tired of his Persian treatment, gave orders to send for M. Bourdois, one of the first physicians in Paris. The messenger made a mistake, and went to M. de Marbois, Ex-minister of the Treasury, and at that time President of the Court of Accounts.— "His Excellency the Persian Ambassador," said he, "is very ill, and wishes to see you." M. de Marbois could not conceive what business the Persian Ambassador could possibly have with him; but Asker-Kan was the envoy of a great Prince, and there is nothing which vanity will not contrive to reconcile. He proceeded with great pomp to the Ambassador's residence; and

it must be allowed that there was nothing in his dress, physiognomy, or deportment, at all likely to undeceive the Persian, who, as soon as he saw him, thrust out his tongue, and stretching forth his arm, motioned him to feel his pulse. These extraordinary gestures astonished M. de Marbois, but he thought they might be some oriental fashion. He took the hand which was offered, and pressed it cordially, when four attendants entered with solemnity, and presented to the Ex-minister a vessel of a very unequivocal nature, for his better information on the state of the patient. At this spectacle, the grave M. de Marbois flew into a violent passion, and asked what was the meaning of this extraordinary behaviour. The mistake was explained ; it was M. Bourdois who had been wanted, and the similarity in the sound of the two names had alone occasioned the error. Poor M. de Marbois was the laughing-stock of Paris, and for a long time he could not show his face any where without exciting merriment.

" The drawing-rooms of Paris are indeed tre-
" mendous with their jokes!" said the Emperor,
" for it cannot be denied that they are for the
" most part pointed and witty. They always assail
" the enemy at the breach, and a total defeat is
" the usual consequence."—" It is true," said I,
" nothing was spared. Even religion was not held
" sacred, and your Majesty may well suppose

" that neither you nor the Empress escaped."—
" I dare say not," replied the Emperor, " but no
" matter; what was said of us?"—" It was re-
" ported, Sire, that one day your Majesty, being
" much dissatisfied at the perusal of a despatch
" from Vienna, said to the Empress in a moment
" of ill-humour, *your father is a blockhead*, (*votre
" père est une ganache*). Maria Louisa, who was
" unacquainted with many French phrases, turned
" to the person nearest her, and observing that the
" Emperor had called her Father a *ganache*, asked
" what the term meant. The courtier, embar-
" rassed at this unexpected interrogatory, stam-
" mered out that the word signified a wise man,
" a man of judgment, and a good counsellor.
" Some time after, the Empress, with her newly
" learnt term fresh in her memory, was present
" at the Council of State, and the discussion be-
" coming somewhat warm, in order to put a stop
" to it, she called on M. Cambacérès, who was
" yawning by her side . . . . —' You must set
" us right on this important point,' said she,
" ' you shall be our oracle; for I consider you as
" the greatest *ganache* in the Empire.'" At these
words the Emperor held his sides with laughter.
" What a pity," said he, " that this anecdote is
" not true! Only imagine the scene. The offended
" dignity of Cambacérès, the merriment of the
" whole council, and the embarrassment of poor

"Maria Louisa, alarmed at the success of her "unconscious joke."

The conversation continued for a long time in this way, and I spent about two hours with the Emperor; I had exerted myself to talk as much as I possibly could to divert him, and I had succeeded. The Emperor felt his spirits revived, he even enjoyed a hearty laugh. When he dismissed me, he felt much better, and I was happy at the change.

Second day of seclusion.—The Emperor receives the Governor in his chamber.—Characteristic conversation.

30th.—To-day I and my son were engaged to dine at Mr. Balcombe's, at the Briars. About half past three I went to receive the Emperor's commands; he was the same as yesterday, and did not intend to go out.

Just before I had reached Hut's Gate, the residence of Madame Bertrand, I met the Governor on his way to Longwood. He asked me how the Emperor was. I told him I felt uneasy about him, and that he had not seen any of us yesterday. I added, that though he had told me this morning he was well, yet from his countenance I should have expected a different account.

About half past nine we set out from the Briars on our return to Longwood; it was very dark. A

heavy fall of rain had come on, which was as sharp and cutting as hail. We had a most disagreeable, troublesome, and dangerous ride, being every moment on the point of being precipitated into some abyss or other, for we were obliged to gallop on at random without seeing where we were going. We arrived at Longwood drenched to the skin.

The Emperor had given orders that I should attend him on my return. He was well, but he had stayed at home as he had done yesterday. He said he had been waiting for me, and had many things to tell me.

On learning that the Governor had arrived, he admitted him into his chamber, though he was not dressed, and was unable to rise from his couch. He said he had discussed with him, in perfect composure, all the points which naturally presented themselves to his mind. He spoke of protesting against the treaty of the second of August, in which the Allied Sovereigns declared him an exile, and a prisoner. He asked what right these Sovereigns had to dispose of him, without his consent, him who was their equal, and had sometimes been their master. He said, if he had thought proper to withdraw to Russia, Alexander, who styled himself his friend, and who never had any but political disputes with him, would, if he had not upheld him as a king, at least have treated him as one. This the Governor could not deny. He said, had he thought proper to take refuge in

Austria, the Emperor Francis could not, without disgracing himself, have denied him, not only his empire, but even his house and his family, of which he, Napoleon, was a member. This the Governor also admitted.

" Lastly," said the Emperor, " if, relying on my " own individual interests, I had persisted in de- " fending them in France by force of arms, there " is no doubt that the Allies would have formally " granted me immense advantages, perhaps even dominion." The Governor, who hesitated for some time on this point, at length agreed, that there was no doubt but the Emperor might with ease have obtained a Sovereignty. " I did not wish it," continued the Emperor; " I determined on abandon- " ing public affairs; indignant at beholding the " leading men in France betraying their country, " or at least committing the grossest errors with " regard to her interests; indignant at finding that " the mass of the representatives preferred dis- " grace to death, and stooped to barter with that " sacred independence, which, like honour, should " be *a rocky and inaccessible island.* In this state " of things what did I determine on? What reso- " lution did I adopt? I sought an asylum in a " country which was supposed to be governed " by laws: among a people, of whom for twenty " years I had been the bitterest enemy! But what " did you do? . . . . Your conduct will be re- " corded in history to your eternal disgrace. Yet

"there is an avenging Providence; sooner or "later you will meet your reward! It will not "be long before your prosperity, your laws, will "expiate your crime! . . . . Your Ministers have "sufficiently proved, by their instructions, that "they wish to get rid of me! Why did not the "Kings who proscribed me openly decree my "death! One act would have been as legal as the "other! A speedy termination to my sufferings "would have shown more energy than the linger- "ing death to which they have doomed me. The "Calabrians have been more humane, more gene- "rous than the Allied Sovereigns or your Minis- "ters. I will not die by my own hands. That "would be an act of cowardice. To overcome "misfortune is a proof of a noble and courageous "mind! We mortals are bound to fulfil our des- "tinies. But if it be intended to keep me here, I "feel that you would be doing me a kindness in "depriving me of life; for here I daily suffer the "agonies of death! The limits of St. Helena are "too narrow for me, who was every day accus- "tomed to ride ten, fifteen, or twenty leagues on "horseback. The climate is not like ours: neither "the sun nor the seasons are like what we have "been accustomed to. Every thing here is hos- "tile to happiness and comfort. The situation is "disagreeable and unwholesome, and is destitute "of water. This part of the island is totally bar- "ren and has been deserted by the inhabitants."

The Governor stated, that his instructions required that the Emperor should be restricted to certain limits in his rides, and that an officer should always accompany him. "If they had "been thus observed," replied the Emperor, "I "should never have left my chamber. If your "instructions will not admit of greater latitude, "you can henceforth do nothing for us. How-"ever, I neither ask nor wish for any thing. "Convey these sentiments to the English Go-"vernment."

"This," said the Governor, "is the consequence "of transmitting instructions from so great a dis-"tance, and with regard to a person of whom those "who draw up the instructions know so little." He then endeavoured to shift the question by intimating, that on the arrival of the wooden house or palace, which was on its way to St. Helena, better plans might perhaps be adopted; that the vessel which was expected was bringing furniture and stores of provisions, which it was supposed would be agreeable to the Emperor; that the English Government was exerting every effort to alleviate his situation, &c.

The Emperor replied, that all their efforts amounted to little; that he had requested to be furnished with the Morning Chronicle and the Statesman, that he might read what related to himself under the least disagreeable forms; but his request had never been complied with. He

had asked for books, which were his only consolation; but nine months had passed away, and he had not received any. He had desired to obtain intelligence of his wife and son; but this had been withheld from him.

"As to the provisions, the furniture, and the "house, that are intended for me," continued he, "you and I, Sir, are soldiers; we know how to "value these things. You have been in my na- "tive city, perhaps in the very house occupied "by my family.* Though it was not the worst "on the island—though I have no reason to be "ashamed of my family circumstances, yet you "know what they were. But though I have "occupied a throne, and have disposed of crowns, "I have not forgotten my first condition; my "couch and my camp-bed, you see, are still suf- "ficient for me."

The Governor observed that the wooden palace and its accompaniments were at least not to be disregarded. "Probably not," replied the Emperor, "for your own satisfaction, in the eyes of Europe; "but to me they are matters of perfect indif- "ference. It is not a house, not furniture, that "should have been sent to me; but an execu-

* The Publishers having been favoured by a distinguished Literary Friend, with a drawing of the house alluded to, in which Napoleon was born, and which was taken by a gentleman who went to Corsica for the express purpose, they intend giving an engraving of it in course of these publications.

" tioner, and a coffin. The former are a mockery, " the latter would be a favour. I say again, the " instructions of your ministers tend to this result, " and I invoke it. The Admiral, who is not an " ill-disposed man, appears to me now to have " softened these instructions, I do not complain of " his acts; his forms alone offended me." Here the Governor asked whether he had unconsciously committed any faults. " No, Sir, we " complain of nothing since your arrival. Yet " one act has offended us, and that is your inspec- " tion of our domestics. It was insulting to " M. de Montholon, by appearing to throw a " suspicion on his integrity; and it was petty, " disagreeable, and insulting towards me, and " perhaps degrading to the English General him- " self, who thus came to interfere between me " and my *valet de chambre*."

The Governor was seated in an arm chair on one side of the Emperor, who had remained stretched on his couch. It was dark, the evening was drawing in, and it was not easy to distinguish objects. " Therefore," observed the Emperor, " it was in vain that I endeavoured to watch the " play of his features, and to observe the impres- " sion which my words made on him."

In course of the conversation the Emperor, who in the morning had been reading the Campaign of 1814, by Alphonse de Beauchamp, in which all the English bulletins bore the signature Lowe,

asked the Governor if he was the individual who had signed them. Sir Hudson Lowe, with marked embarrassment, replied in the affirmative, and added, that the bulletins represented his views and opinions. The Governor, who had several times proposed that the Emperor should be attended by his physician, who he said was a very skilful man, on taking his leave again proposed to send his Doctor to Longwood. But the Emperor saw his motives, and constantly resisted his offer.

Having related all these particulars to me, the Emperor remained silent for some minutes. Then resuming, apparently after some reflection, he said: "How mean and disagreeable is the ex- "pression of the Governor's countenance: I never "saw any thing like it in my life! . . . I should "be unable to drink my coffee if this man were "beside me . . . . My dear Las Cases, they have "sent me worse than a jailor! . . ."

I shall insert here three additional chapters on the Campaigns of Italy.

The first describes a campaign of twenty-six days, full of grand events, crowned by the *Battle of Castiglione*, which title it bears.

The second and third chapters, entitled *Arcola* and *Rivoli*, detail a series of new prodigies.

BATTLE OF CASTIGLIONE.*

From the invasion of Wurmser, on the 29th of July 1796, to the second blockade of Mantua, on the 24th of August following, a space of twenty-six days. (See the map.)

I. *Marshal Wurmser quits the command of the army of Germany, and takes that of the Austrian army of Italy.*—The army of Italy had opened the campaign in the month of April. June had arrived, and the armies of the North, of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, were still inactive. These great and excellent armies, containing more than 200,000 men, constituting the principal forces of the republic, were quietly doing garrison duty in Holland, on the Meuse and Rhine, and in Alsace.

When the arrival of the French on the Adige, and the blockade of Mantua became known, the court of Austria gave up the plan of offensive operations in Alsace, and on the Lower Rhine,

* All the words in Italics are corrections made in the original manuscript by Napoleon's own hand.

which it had projected; and ordered Marshal Wurmser, who had been destined for these operations, to come back with all possible expedition, for the purpose of conducting affairs in Italy, and to bring thither 30,000 of his best troops; which added to the reinforcements sent from every part of the monarchy, would make up an army of near 100,000 men.

The French army of Italy had accomplished its task in destroying the army opposed to it. If the armies of the North had done as much, the contest would have been over.

Reports of the preparations making by the house of Austria were heard, however, throughout Italy. All the confidential intelligence of the diplomatic agents, all the letters of the enemies of France, were filled with particulars of the immense means which were about to be brought into action, and of the *certainty* that before the end of August, the Emperor of Germany would be master of Milan, and would have driven the French out of Italy.

II. *Situation of the army of Italy.*—From the end of June the French General had been attentively considering all these preparations, and was greatly alarmed at them. He made the Directory sensible that it was impossible for 30,000 French to sustain alone, the efforts of the whole power of Austria. He demanded either that reinforcements should be sent to him from the armies of

the Rhine, or that those armies themselves should begin the campaign *without delay*. He reminded them of the positive promise which he had received on leaving Paris, that these armies should commence operations on the 15th of April; he complained that two months had elapsed without their having stirred.

Wurmser marched from the Rhine with his reinforcements, towards the beginning of June; and, towards the end of the same month, the armies of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, at length opened the campaign. But their diversion was no longer serviceable to the army of Italy, Wurmser having already reached it. The French General joined all his forces on the Adige and the Chiesa; he left no troops in the Legations, or in Tuscany, except one battalion of *depôt* in the citadel of Ferrara, and two at Leghorn. He reduced as much as possible the garrisons of Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria; he collected and brought within his own disposal, all the disposable resources of the army. The siege of Mantua began to produce sickness; and notwithstanding all the care that could be taken to expose as few men as possible before that unwholesome place, our losses became very considerable.

The General-in-chief could not assemble more than 30,000 effective men under arms. It was with *this army* that he was shortly to oppose the principal army of the house of Austria.

The correspondence of the different countries of Italy with the Tyrol, was very active; in that province were collected all the hostile forces: it was easy to perceive the daily increasing evil influence of all these preparations on the popular mind. The partizans of the French trembled; those of Austria, on the contrary, assumed a proud and threatening tone. But all were astonished, that a power like France should leave an army, which had deserved so well of its country, without succour or support. These remarks found their way to the soldiery, by means of their habitual communications with the inhabitants of the country.

At the end of July, General Soret's headquarters were at Salo; he was ordered to cover the debouche of the Chiesa, where a great road passes that leads from Trent to Brescia. Massena was at Bussolengo, causing Corona and Montebaldo to be occupied by Joubert's brigade, and encamping with the rest of his division on the level of Rivoli. Dallemagne's brigade was posted at Verona; Augereau's division occupied Porto Legnago and the Lower Adige. General Guillaume commanded at Peschiera, where six galleys under the command of Captain Lallemand of the navy, secured the Lake of Garda. Lastly, Serrurier was pressing the siege of Mantua, and Kilmaine commanded the cavalry of the army.

III. *Wurmser's plan of Campaign.*—Wurmser

had the choice of two plans; either to pass the Brenta, and to debouch by Vicenza and Padua on the Adige: by which route he would have avoided the mountains, but would have found himself separated from Mantua by the Adige, and obliged to force the passage of that river in the face of the French army: or to debouch between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, take possession of Montebaldo and the level of Rivoli; bring up his artillery and baggage by the road which runs parallel with the left bank of the Adige: his army would then have cleared the mountains and the Adige, and would have no obstacle remaining in the way of its arrival at Mantua. But his artillery and cavalry would not be able to join his infantry until he should take the level of Rivoli. Thus he might find himself attacked, and obliged to fight a decisive battle, before he could be joined by his artillery and cavalry.

Wurmser, however, disregarded this objection, and adopted the plan last described. When informed of the taking of the intrenched camp of Mantua, and the hazardous situation of the fortress itself, he hastened his movements by eight or ten days. He divided his army into three corps. The first, and most considerable, forming his centre, debouched by Montebaldo, and occupied all the country between the Adige and the Lake of Garda: it was composed of four divisions containing 40,000 men. The second, forming his

left, composed of a division of infantry of 10 or 12,000 men, with all the artillery, cavalry, and baggage, took the road leading from Roveredo to Vérona, passing along the left bank of the Adige, and was to join the army by passing the Adige either at the level of Rivoli, or over the bridges at Verona. The third corps, composing his right, and consisting of three divisions, containing from 30 to 35,000 men, directed its course to the left bank of the lake of Garda, followed the course of the Chiesa, coasting the Lake of Idro; by marching in this direction this corps was to turn the Mincio, cut off one of the great roads of the French army to Milan, and turn the whole siege of Mantua. This plan was, on the part of the enemy, the result of an extreme confidence in their own force, and expected successes. They were so certain of defeating us, that they were already contriving how to cut us off from all means of retreat. Thus Wurmser was, in perspective, surrounding the whole French army by anticipation: conceiving that army to be so completely chained down to the defence of Mantua, that to surround that fixed point, was to surround the army, which he regarded as inseparable from the siege.

IV. *Wurmser debouches by Montebaldo, by the road from Roveredo to Verona, and by that of the Chiesa, on the 29th of July.*—At the end of July the head-quarters of the French army were re-

moved to Brescia. On the 28th, at ten in the evening, the French general set out from Brescia to visit his advanced posts. Having reached Peschiera at daybreak on the 29th, he there learned that Corona and Montebaldo were attacked by considerable forces. At eight o'clock in the morning he arrived at Verona. At two o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's light troops appeared on the tops of the mountains which divide Verona from the Tyrol, and engaged with our troops. The General-in-chief retired during the whole of the evening, and fixed his head-quarters at Castelnuovo, between the Adige and the Mincio, where he was better able to receive the reports of the whole line.

In the course of the night, he learned that Joubert, having been attacked at Corona by a whole army, had resisted during the whole day; but had subsequently fallen back on the level of Rivoli, which was occupied by Massena in great strength; that numerous lines of fires covered all the mountains between the lake of Garda and the Adige; that on the heights of Verona the fires gave reason to believe that towards the evening the enemy's troops had increased in that quarter; that on the side of Montebello, Vicenza, Bassano, and Lignano, there were neither movements nor enemy; but that on the side of Brescia three hostile divisions had debouched by the valley of the Chiesa. One covered the heights of

Saint Osetto, appearing to be directed on Brescia; another had taken up a position at Gavardo, and seemed directed on Ponte-Marco and Lonato; the third had made for Salo, where the contest had already begun.

A little after, he was informed that the Saint Osetto division of the enemy had already advanced its van to Brescia, where it had met with no resistance, since only 300 convalescents had been left there to guard the hospitals. Thus the communication of the army with Milan, by Brescia, being interrupted, we could now communicate with that city only by way of Cremona.

Light horsemen belonging to the enemy appeared on all the roads leading from Brescia to Milan, Cremona, and Mantua, announcing every where that an army of 80,000 men had debouched by Brescia, whilst another of 100,000 men was debouching by Verona.

Napoleon also learned that the division of the enemy directed on Salo had come to action with Soret; who, having gained intelligence of the other two divisions which were advancing towards Brescia and Lonato, had been apprehensive of being cut off from Brescia and the army; and had thought it expedient to fall back on the heights of Dezenzano, in order to keep up his communications; that he had left General Guyeux at Salo, with 1500 men in an ancient castle, a kind of fortress, secure from any sudden assault; that

the enemy's division of Gavardo had advanced some light-horse on Ponte-San-Marco; but that they had been held in check by a company of light-infantry posted there.

V. *Grand and prompt resolution taken by the French General.—Action of Salo.—Action of Lonato, 31st of July.*—Wurmser's plan of attack was now discovered. The French army alone opposed to all these forces could do nothing, but opposed to each of them separately it would be on an equality.

The French General instantly formed his determination. The enemy had taken the lead in moving, which he hoped to preserve; the French general resolved to disconcert his plans by taking the lead himself. Wurmser supposed the French army fixed to the position of Mantua. Napoleon instantly resolved to make the army moveable, by raising the seige of that place, sacrificing his battering train, and rapidly advancing on one of these corps, with the whole collective strength of his army, in order to return successively to attack each of the other corps. The right of the Austrian army, which had debouched by the Chiesa and Brescia road, being the most advanced, he advanced against it first.

Serrurier burnt his carriages and his platforms, threw his powder into the water, buried his shot, spiked his guns, and raised the siege of Mantua in the night of the 31st of July.

Augereau marched from Legnago to Borghetto

on the Mincio. Throughout the 30th, Massena defended the heights between the Adige and the lake of Garda. Dallemagne marched on Lonato.

The General-in-chief ascended the heights in the rear of Dezenzano. He made Soret march back to Salo, to extricate General Guyeux, who was compromised in the bad position in which Soret had left him. Nevertheless this General had withstood a whole division of the enemy for forty-eight hours: five times they had attacked him by assault, and five times he had strewed the avenues with their dead. Soret came up at the very moment when the enemy were making a last effort; he fell on their flanks, defeated them entirely, took some colours, and disengaged Guyeux.

At the same time the Austrian division of Gavardo had marched on Lonato to take up a *position on the heights*, and endeavour to effect their junction with Wurmser on the Mincio. The General-in-chief himself led Dallemagne's brigade against that division. *This brigade* performed prodigies of valour; the 32d formed part of it. The enemy was defeated, put to flight, and suffered great loss.

These two divisions of the enemy, beaten by Soret and Dallemagne, *rallied* at Gavardo. Soret, fearful of *compromising himself*, returned and took up an intermediate position between Salo and Dezenzano.

In the mean time Wurmser had caused his artillery and cavalry to pass the bridges of Verona. Being master of all the country between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, he posted one of his divisions on the heights of Peschiera, to mask that place and keep up his communications. He directed two others, with part of his cavalry, on Borghetto, to gain possession of the bridge over the Mincio, and to debouch on the Chiesa, in order to place himself in communication with his right. Lastly, with his two last divisions of infantry and the rest of his cavalry, he marched on Mantua to oblige the French to raise the siege of that place. Twenty-four hours had elapsed since the French troops had evacuated all their positions *before Mantua:* Wurmser found the trenches and batteries there still complete, the guns dismounted and spiked, and the wrecks of carriages, platforms, and stores of all kinds strewed about in every direction. The precipitancy with which these measures seemed to have been effected must have delighted him extremely; all that he saw around him appeared much more like the result of panic terror, than of a deliberate plan.

Massena, after having held the enemy in check throughout the 30th, passed the Mincio, at Peschiera, in the night, and continued his march on Brescia. The Austrian division which *appeared before Peschiera,* found the right bank of the Mincio lined with skirmishers furnished *by the*

garrison, and by a rear-guard left by Massena, which had orders *to dispute the* passage of the Mincio, and to rally at Lonato when the passage should be forced.

Augereau, in marching on Brescia, had passed the Mincio at Borghetto. He had cut down the bridge, and likewise left a rear-guard to line the river, with orders to rally at Castiglionè when it should be forced.

The general in chief marched all the night of the 31st July, with Augereau's and Massena's divisions on Brescia, where they arrived at ten o'clock in the morning. The division of the enemy at Brescia, learning that the whole of the French army was debouching upon them by all the roads, took good care not to wait for it, and fell back precipitately. When the Austrians entered Brescia, they found all our sick and convalescents there; but their stay was so short, and their departure so hasty, that they had not time to reconnoitre or dispose of their prisoners.

General Lespinois and Adjutant-general Herbin, with several battalions each, were sent in pursuit of the enemy towards Saint Osetto, *and the debouches of the Chiesa.*

The two divisions of Augereau and Massena *returned,* by a rapid countermarch, on the side of the Mincio, whence they had proceeded, *to support their rear-guard.*

VI. *Battle of Lonato, August* 3.—On the 2d of

August, Augereau whose division formed the right, occupied Monte-chiaro; Massena's division forming the centre, was encamped at Ponte-Marco, connected with that of Soret, which, forming the left, occupied an eminence between Salo and Dezenzano, facing to the rear, in order to check the whole of the enemy's right.

In the mean time the rear-guard which Augereau and Massena had left on the Mincio, had retired before the divisions of the enemy which had passed that river. That of Augereau, which had orders to join at Castiglione, quitted its post too soon, and returned in disorder to join its corps.

Napoleon, dissatisfied with General Valette, who commanded it, cashiered him before the troops, for not having evinced more firmness on this occasion. As for General Pigeon, who commanded Massena's rear-guard, he returned in good order on Lonato, according to his instructions, and there established himself.

The enemy, taking advantage of General Valette's error, took possession of Castiglione on the 2d, and intrenched themselves there.

On the 3d the battle of Lonato took place; on the part of the enemy, Wurmser's two divisions from Borghetto, and one brigade of the division which had remained at Peschiera, were engaged, forming a total of about 30,000 men. The French had from 20 to 23,000, and their success was not

doubtful. Wurmser, with the two divisions of infantry, and the cavalry which he had taken to Mantua, could not be present at this action.

At the dawn of day the enemy advanced on Lonato, which place they attacked briskly; by this point they intended to form their junction with their right, respecting which they now began to entertain apprehensions. Massena's vanguard was overthrown, the enemy took Lonato. The general in chief, who was at Ponte-Marco, marched in person to retake Lonato. The Austrian general's line having been extended too far, still with the intention of gaining on his right in order to open his communications with Salo, was penetrated, Lonato taken at the charge, and the enemy's line intersected. Part of their force fell back on the Mincio, the remainder on Salo; but the latter were met by General Soret in front, and had General Hilaire in rear. Turned on every side, they were obliged to lay down arms.

Although we sustained an attack in the centre, we were the assailants on the right. As soon as it was day, Augereau attacked the enemy who covered Castiglione, and broke them, after an obstinate engagement, in which the valour of the troops made up for their deficiency in numbers. The enemy suffered great loss; Castiglione was taken from them, and they retired on Mantua, whence their first reinforcements came, but not until the action was over. We lost many brave

men in this desperate affair: the army regretted, in particular, General Beyrand and Colonel Pourailler, very distinguished officers.

VIII. *Surrender of three divisions of the enemy's right, and part of their centre.*—The three divisions of the right of the enemy's army received intelligence of the battle of Lonato during the night; they already heard the cannon, and they became extremely disheartened. Their junction with the principal corps of the army was now become impossible. They had, moreover, seen *several* French *divisions* near them, which they supposed to be still manœuvring against them. *The French army* seemed to them innumerable; they beheld it in every direction.

Wurmser had detached a part of his troops from Mantua towards Marcaria, in pursuit of Serrurier. He was obliged to lose some time in effecting the return of these troops on *Castiglione.* On the 4th he was not ready for action. He employed the whole day in re-assembling his troops, re-organizing those which had fought at Lonato, and supplying his artillery with fresh stores.

When the French general went, about two or three in the afternoon, to reconnoitre his line of battle, he found it formidable; it still presented 40,000 fighting men. He gave orders to intrench at Castiglione, and set out himself for Lonato, in order to superintend, in person, the movement

of his troops, which it became of the highest importance to him to collect during the night, about Castiglione. Throughout the day, Soret and Herbin on one side, and Dallemagne and Saint Hilaire on the other, had followed the march of the three divisions of the enemy's right, *and of those cut off from the centre on the day of the battle of Lonato,* pursuing them as closely as possible, and making prisoners at every step. Whole battalions had laid down arms at Saint-Osetto, others at Gavardo, and others were wandering about in perplexity in the neighbouring vallies. Four or five thousand of the latter were informed by the peasants that there were not above 1200 French in Lonato; they marched thither in hopes of opening a passage towards the Mincio. It was four o'clock in the afternoon; Napoleon, on his side, was entering the town, coming from Castiglione. A flag of truce was announced to him; and whilst the troops were getting under arms, he learned that columns of the enemy were debouching by Ponte San-Marco, that they intended entering Lonato, and had summoned that town to surrender.

We were, however, masters of Salo and Gavardo; it was therefore evident that these could only be straggling columns trying to open themselves a passage. Napoleon ordered his numerous staff to mount their horses; he then had the officer who came to parley brought before him,

and caused the bandage to be taken from his eyes in the midst of all the bustle of the head quarters of a commander-in-chief. " Go tell your Gene- " ral," said he, " that I give him eight minutes " to lay down arms. He is in the midst of the " French army; after the expiration of that time, " no hope remains for him."

These 4 or 5000 men, who had been harassed for three days, wandering in uncertainty, not knowing what was to become of them, in the persuasion that they had been deceived by the peasants, laid down their arms. This circumstance alone may convey an idea of the disorder and confusion of these Austrian divisions, which, after being beaten at Salo, Lonato, and Gavardo, and pursued in every direction, were already almost disorganized. All the rest of the fourth, and the whole of the night, were passed in rallying all the colums, and concentrating them at Castiglione.

VIII. *Battle of Castiglione, August* 5.—*Before day-break on the* 5*th, the French army, completely united,* consisting of 25,000 men, including Serrurier's division, occupied the height of Castiglione, an excellent position. General Serrurier, with the division which came from the siege of Mantua, had received orders to march all night, and to fall on the rear of Wurmser's left at dawn. His attack was to be the signal for battle. A great moral success was anticipated from this unex-

pected attack; and to make it the more sensible *the French army made a feint* of falling back.

As soon as the first guns fired by the corps of Serrurier (who being ill, General Fiorella commanded for him) were heard, the army advanced briskly on the enemy, falling on troops whose confidence was already shaken, and who *no longer possessed* their original ardour. A hillock in the midst of the plain formed a strong appui for the enemy's left. Adjutant-general Verdier was ordered to attack it; Marmont, Aide-de-camp *to the General-in-chief,* advanced upon it with twenty pieces of artillery; the post was carried. Massena attacked the right, Augereau the centre, Fiorella took the left in flank; we were victorious in every direction, the enemy was completely routed. Nothing but the excessive fatigue of the French troops could have saved the wreck of Wurmser's division; they fled, in disorder, beyond the Mincio, where Wurmser was in hopes of being able to maintain himself; he would there have had the advantage of remaining in communication with Mantua. But Augereau's division directed its march on Borghetto, and that of Massena on Peschiera.

General Guillaume, commandant of the latter place, who had been left there with only 400 men, had walled up the gates, the better to defend himself. It would have required forty-eight hours to disencumber them. The soldiers were obliged

to leap upon the ramparts in order to reach the enemy. The Austrian troops which occupied Peschiera were fresh. They long maintained the action against the 18th of the line; but they were at last broken, and lost eighteen pieces of cannon and many prisoners.

The General-in-chief marched with Serrurier's division on Verona. He reached that place in the night of the 7th. Wurmser had caused the gates to be shut, wishing to gain the night for carrying off his baggage; but the gates were battered down by cannon, and the city entered. The Austrians lost many men there. Augereau's division, finding some obstacles to its passage at Borghetto, returned to pass the river at Peschiera.

Wurmser, having lost all hopes of maintaining the line of the Mincio, endeavoured to preserve the important positions of Montebaldo, and Roca d'Anfo. General Saint Hilaire marched on Roca d'Anfo, attacked the enemy in the valley of Lodron, and took many prisoners from him. Riva was taken, and Wurmser compelled to burn his flotilla. Massena marched on Montebaldo, and retook Corona. Augereau re-ascended the left bank of the Adige, following the ridges of the mountains, and reached Ala. The enemy suffered considerable losses in the skirmishes by which his retreat was accompanied. His troops were entirely discouraged.

After the loss of two such battles as those of Lonato and Castiglione, Wurmser must have known that he could not dispute the positions which the French might wish to occupy to secure the line of the Adige. He retreated to Roveredo and Trente. The French army itself stood in need of repose. Wurmser's forces, after all his defeats, were still equal to ours; but with this difference, that one battalion of the army of Italy was now enough to put four of the enemy's to flight; and that cannon, prisoners, and military stores, were picked up on all sides.

Wurmser had, it is true, re-victualled the garrison of Mantua; but out of the whole of his fine army he now brought back not more than from 40 to 45,000 men, including his cavalry. Besides, nothing could equal the discouragement and demoralization of this fine army, since its reverses, except the extreme confidence with which it had been inspired at the opening of the campaign.

Wurmser's plan, which might have succeeded under other circumstances, or against another man than his antagonist, was, nevertheless calculated to fail as it did; and although, at the first glance, the defeat of that fine and numerous army, in so few days, seems attributable only to the talents of the French General, who continually invented new manœuvres, on the spur of the occasion, against a general plan previously con-

certed, it must be owned that this plan was formed on erroneous foundations. It was an error to make corps which had no communication amongst themselves, act separately *in the face of a centralized army*, whose communications were easy. The right could only communicate with the centre by way of Roveredo and Lodron. It was again a second error, to subdivide the corps of the right, and to assign different objects to these different divisions. That which was at Brescia found no force opposed to it, and that which reached Lonato had to contend with troops which the day before were at Verona before the *Austrians* left, now opposed by no enemy in front. There were very good troops in the Austrian army, but there were also some very indifferent; those which came with Wurmser from the Rhine were excellent, and animated with the hope of victory; but all the establishments of Beaulieu's old army, which had been defeated in so many actions, carried discouragement with them. One of Wurmser's dispositions, which turned out most disastrous, was that of composing the greater part of his right of Hungarians, awkward troops, who, when once routed, were unable to extricate themselves from the mountains; and, on account of their language, could not make themselves understood.

IX. *Second Siege of Mantua.*—The first few days succeeding the raising of the blockade of

Mantua were employed by the garrison in destroying the works of the besiegers, and in getting in the pieces of artillery and the stores *which they found.* But the speedy defeat of Wurmser soon brought the French back before the place. The loss of the battering train left them no hopes of being able to besiege it. That train, formed with great pains out of pieces taken from different fortresses in Italy, was almost wholly lost. Besides the weather was growing too bad; the opening of the trenches, and the duty in them, would have been too dangerous for the troops at the moment when the malignity of the climate was about to commence its ravages. The *French General,* therefore, not having at hand a train which would have ensured his taking Mantua in six weeks, would not think of forming a second, which would not have been ready until the moment when new events might have again exposed him to a similar loss, by obliging him to raise the siege a second time. He therefore contented himself with a simple blockade. General Sahuget was entrusted with it; he attacked Governolo, and General Dallemagne Borgo-Forte; they took those places, as well as the whole of the Seraglio, drove the enemy into the place, and increased the strictness of the blockade to the utmost. The number of redoubts and fortifications round the place was assiduously increased, in order to employ as few troops as pos-

sible; for the number of the besiegers decreased daily through the ravages of fever; and it was foreseen with terror that these ravages would increase in the autumn. It is true that the garrison was subjected to the same evils and the same diminution.

X. *Conduct of the different people of Italy during this crisis.*—In the mean time the situation of Italy, during the few days which had just elapsed, had been an absolute revelation. All the passions had shewn themselves in open day; every one threw off the mask. The enemy's party shewed itself at Cremona, at Casal-Major, and some sparks appeared at Pavia. In general Lombardy shewed a good spirit; at Milan, particularly, the whole populace shewed great constancy and much fortitude: they gained our confidence, and deserved the arms which they incessantly and earnestly asked for. The French general accordingy wrote to them, in the height of his satisfaction: "When the French army beat "a retreat, when the partisans of Austria and "the enemies of liberty considered it lost beyond "redemption, when you yourselves could not "possibly suspect that this retreat was only a "stratagem, you shewed your attachment to "France, and your love of liberty; you displayed "a zeal and firmness by which you have deserved "the esteem of the French army, and will merit "the protection of the French republic."

"Your people continually become more worthy
"of liberty, acquiring increased energy daily.
"No doubt they will one day appear with glory
"on the theatre of the world. Accept the assur-
"ance of my satisfaction, and of the sincere
"wishes of the French people to see you free
"and happy."

The inhabitants of Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, and Modena, shewed themselves truly interested in our cause. Parma remained faithful to its armistice; but the regency of Modena acted in open hostility to us. At Rome the French were insulted in the *streets;* their expulsion from Italy was proclaimed. The fulfilment of those conditions of the armistice which had not yet been performed was suspended. The General in chief might have punished such conduct; but other considerations carried him elsewhere, and obliged him to postpone the chastisement, if the negotiations should not produce repentance. Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, shewed his joy at the raising of the siege of Mantua. He called on the populace to rise against the French. He took possession of the *citadel* of Ferrara, and there hoisted the Pope's colours. The Pope also sent a legate thither, whereby he violated the armistice. After the battle of Castiglione, the French General had Mattei arrested and taken to Brescia. The Cardinal, confused, answered only by this single word, PECCAVI, which disarmed Napoleon,

who contented himself with putting him, for three months, in a seminary at Brescia. This Cardinal was afterwards the Pope's plenipotentiary at Tolentino. He was of a princely Roman family; a man of narrow mind, and limited talents; but who was supposed to be sincerely devout. He was minutely scrupulous in all the observances of religion. After the death of Pope Pius VI. the Court of Vienna made great exertions in the conclave at Venice to get him elected Pope, but did not succeed. *Chiaramonti, Bishop of Incola, gained the election, and took the name of Pius VII.*

N. B. of the Editor, written under dictation. The Report mentions only 20,000 men brought from the Rhine by Wurmser. The chapter says 30,000, and is right. The inequality of strength between the two armies was always so great that the French General, in his reports, frequently thought it necessary to diminish the number of the enemy, lest he should discourage his own army. This explains the numerical differences which sometimes occur between the work and the official documents.

BATTLE OF ARCOLE.

Of the offensive operations of Alvinzi, from the 2d of November, 1796, to the entire expulsion of his army on the 21st of November following, a space of nineteen days. (See the map.)

I. *Marshal Alvinzi takes the command of the new Austrian army; his force.*—The French armies of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, had been beaten in Germany; they had repassed the Rhine. These advantages consoled the court of Vienna for its losses in Italy. They gave them an opportunity of humbling the pride of the French in this quarter. The Austrian Government therefore gave orders to form an army, disengage Mantua, deliver Wurmser, and avenge the disgrace its armies had sustained in this country. Four divisions of infantry and one of cavalry were accordingly assembled in Friuli, and two in the Tyrol, making together 60,000 men. These troops were composed of strong detachments from the victorious armies of Germany; of skeleton regiments of Wurmser's army, recruited, and of an extraordinary levy of 15,000 croats.

The chief command was given to Marshal Alvinzi, and the Tyrolese partizan corps, of about 18,000 men, was entrusted to General Davidowich. The Senate of Venice secretly seconded the Austrians; being convinced that the success of the French cause would be the ruin of its aristocracy. That Government daily saw the disposition of its continental subjects grow worse towards it, and heard them call aloud for a revolution. The Court of Rome had taken off the mask; and finding itself compromised since Wurmser's defeat, it now looked for safety only in the success of Austria. It fulfilled none of the conditions of the armistice of Bologna; it perceived with terror that the French General was temporizing, and that by feigned moderation and prolonged negotiations, he was postponing the moment of punishment. The Court of Rome was also inspirited by the Austrian victories in Germany; and being exactly informed of the small number of the French, and the great proportion of sick in their army, it was exerting all its physical means in levying troops, and its moral means in persuading the minds of the people, by means of the convents and priests, of the weakness of the French, and the irresistible force of the Austrians.

II *Good condition of the French army; the opinion of the people of Italy favourable to its success.*— The French General had long cherished the hope

of receiving new reinforcements. He had forcibly represented to the Directory either that the armies of the North must repass the Rhine, or that 50,000 men must be sent to his assistance. Promises were made him which were never realized; and all the succours that were sent him amounted only to four regiments detached from la Vendée; the disposition of which province was improved. These regiments consisting of about 8,000 men, arrived at different times in the course of two months. They were of great assistance; they made up for the losses experienced in the preceding months, and kept up the effective army to its usual number of 30,000 combatants. The letters from the Tyrol, Friuli, Venice, and Rome, constantly *spoke* of the great preparations making against the French; but on this occasion the more declared disposition of the people and other circumstances, put quite a different face on the affairs of Italy. It was no longer *as* before Lonato and Castiglione. The prodigies performed by the French, and the numerous defeats sustained by the Austrians, had changed the direction of public opinion. On the former occasion three fourths of the Italians thought it impossible for the French to preserve their conquest: but now three fourths of the same people believed it would never be in the power of the Austrians to wrest it from them. Care was taken that the arrival of the four regi-

ments from France should make a great noise. Their movements were made by battalions, which formed twelve columns. Every endeavour was employed to make the inhabitants and part of the army believe that the reinforcement consisted of twelve regiments. *It was believed* that provisions were scarce in Mantua, and that this place would infallibly be reduced before the Austrian army could recommence the contest, so that our troops *heard* the preparations of *Austria talked of*, without any diminution of their confidence. They seemed certain of victory. The army was well fed, paid, and clothed; its artillery was numerous and well horsed; its cavalry weak in point of number, indeed, but wanting for nothing, and in the best possible condition.

The population of all the countries occupied by our army, made at present, common cause with us. Their most earnest prayers were poured forth for our success. The disposition of the countries beyond the Po was such that they might even suffice to keep in check the levies which the Cardinal Secretary of State at Rome called the Pope's army. That miserable court, destitute of genius, courage, talents, and good faith, was in no respect formidable.

III. *Action of the Brenta.—Vaubois evacuates the Tyrol in disorder.* At the beginning of November, the head quarters of the Austrian army were at Conegliano, and numerous *posts* were distributed

on the *left* bank of the Piave. In the Tyrol, corps opposed to each of ours were formed on the line of the Avisio; the enemy appeared in force in all directions. Alvinzi's scheme was perfectly evident; he would not attack by the Tyrol, like Wurmser; he was fearful of engaging in the mountains. He ascribed the success of *Lonato and Castiglione* to the superior intelligence and dexterity of the French soldier. He therefore resolved to make his principal attack by the plain, and to reach the Adige by the Veronese, Vicentine, and Paduan. On the 2d of November, this general threw two bridges over the Piave, and advanced on Bassano with from 49 to 50,000 men. Massena, posted in observation, kept back all his columns, forced him to deploy all his forces, gained several days, and fell back on Vicenza, where he was joined by the French General, who brought Augereau's division with him, as well as a brigade from Mantua, and had immediately from 20 to 22,000 men at his disposal. Napoleon's plan was to defeat Alvinzi, and then to proceed on Trent, by a movement inverse to that which he had made shortly before, and to take in rear the army which was operating in the Tyrol. Alvinzi, who had passed the Brenta, was attacked on the 5th, and overthrown. All his divisions were repulsed beyond that river.

But Vaubois, who had been engaged with th enemy ever since the 2d of November, had not

been able to maintain himself, either at Trent, or in any intermediate position. His division, no longer disputing the ground, was retiring in a disorderly manner on Verona. Every thing seemed to give reason to apprehend, that the position of Corona and Montebaldo *would be insufficient to stop the enemy's progress. The siege of Mantua was thought to be in danger.* The General-in-chief was therefore obliged to retrograde on Verona, and to reach it in time to rally Vaubois, and *secure* the positions of Montebaldo and Rivoli. He reviewed Vaubois' division on the level of Rivoli. "Soldiers," he said to them, in a severe tone, "I am not satisfied with you. You have shown neither discipline nor constancy. You have yielded on the first reverse. No position was sufficient for you to rally at. There were some in your retreat which were impregnable. Soldiers of the 85th and 39th, you are no longer French soldiers. Give me those colours, and let me have written on them, 'They belong no more to the army of Italy!'" A gloomy silence prevailed throughout the ranks, and these old soldiers were seen, in the emotion of the moment, to derange their arms whilst they wiped away their tears. The General-in-chief was obliged to say a few consolatory words to them. "General," they cried, "*place us in the vanguard*, and you shall see whether we belong to the army of Italy!" In fact, these regiments, which

were the most severely blamed, were placed in the vanguard, and there covered themselves with glory.

IV. *Battle of Caldiero, 12th November.*—Alvinzi's operations were already crowned with the completest success: he was now master of the whole of the Tyrol, and of all the country between the Brenta and the Adige; but the most difficult task yet remained to be performed: this was, to force the passage of the Adige in the face of the French army. The road from Verona to Vicenza runs by the side of the Adige for three leagues, and never leaves the direction of *the river, except* at Villa Nuova, where it turns perpendicularly to the left, *in the direction* of Vicenza: at Villa-Nuova, the little stream of the Alpon crosses the high road, and, after passing through Arcole, enters the Adige between Ronco and Albaredo. To the left of Villa-Nuova are heights, which present very fine positions, known by the name of Caldiero. By occupying these positions, a part of the Adige is kept, Verona is covered, and an opportunity is preserved of falling on the rear of the enemy, should he direct his course to the lower Adige.

The French general had scarcely *secured* the defence of Montebaldo, and restored confidence to Vaubois' troops, when he resolved to occupy Caldiero, as affording more chances for defence, and more energy to his attitude. He de-

bouched on the 11th from Verona, with Verdier's brigade at the head of his columns, overthrew the enemy's vanguard, and speedily reached the foot of Caldiero. But Alvinzi himself had occupied this position, which is equally good against Verona.

On the 12th, at day-break, his whole army was seen on these heights, which he had covered with formidable batteries. When the ground had been reconnoitred, Massena was to attack the heights, and force the enemy's right: the carrying of this height, which the enemy did not keep in a skilful manner, would decide the battle. General Launay marched with his demi-brigade, and took the eminence, but could not maintain himself there, and was taken prisoner. In the meantime the rain was falling in torrents; the road soon became impracticable for our artillery, whilst we were crushed by that of the enemy. To climb the heights in the face of an enemy posted on them, was too disadvantageous an undertaking. The attack was countermanded; and we contented ourselves with maintaining the battle throughout the day. As the rain lasted all that day and the next, the French General determined on returning to the camp at Verona.

The losses in this affair had been equal; the enemy, nevertheless, ascribed the victory to themselves, and with reason. Their advanced posts approached St. Michel, and the situation of the French became truly critical.

V. *Discontent, and various sentiments of the French army.*—Vaubois, who had been defeated in the Tyrol, had suffered considerable loss: he had not at this time more than 6000 men. The other two divisions, after having fought valiantly on the Brenta, had been forced to retreat on Verona, having failed in their operations on Caldiero. The consciousness of the enemy's strength was the predominant sentiment throughout the army. Vaubois' soldiers, in order to justify their retreat in the Tyrol, said, they had fought there one to three. Even the soldiers who had remained in Napoleon's sight thought the enemy too numerous. The two divisions, after their losses, could not muster more than 13,000 men under arms.

The enemy had also sustained losses, it is true, but he had had the advantage: he had acquired a consciousness of superiority; he had been able to reckon at his ease the small number of the French. Accordingly, he had no longer any doubt of the deliverance of Mantua, or of the conquest of Italy. He had collected a great number of ladders, and caused many more to be made, for the purpose of storming Verona. At Mantua, the garrison had recovered itself, made frequent sorties, which incessantly harassed the besiegers, and the troops were too weak to restrain so strong a garrison. We daily heard of some new reinforcement obtained by the enemy, whilst we could hope for none. At the same time the agents of

Austria, Venice, and the Pope, took care to trumpet forth the successes obtained by Alvinzi, and his superiority over us. We were no longer in a condition to act on the offensive in any direction: on one side was the position of Caldiero, which we had been unable to carry: on the other, the passes of the Tyrol, which had just been the scene of Vaubois' defeat. But had we occupied positions allowing of any attempt against him, it would have been precluded by our inferiority in point of numbers. Every thing forbade offensive operations for the present: it was therefore necessary to allow the enemy to take the lead, and to await coolly such operations as they might think fit to attempt. The weather was extremely bad; the rain fell in torrents, and every movement was made in the mud. The affairs of Caldiero and the Tyrol had sensibly affected the resolution of the army. The soldiers still retained, indeed, a sense of their superiority over the enemy, in case of equality of numbers; but they did not think themselves able to withstand them with such great numerical disparity. Many brave men had been wounded twice or thrice in different battles since they entered Italy. Discontent and irritation began to prevail amongst them.

"We cannot, alone," said they, "perform the work of all. Alvinzi's army here, is that before which the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse retreated; and they remain

inactive at this moment. Why should we do their duty? We receive no succours; if we are beaten, we must regain the Alps by a dishonourable flight; if, on the contrary, we conquer, what will our new victory produce? Another army like Alvinzi's will be opposed to us, as Alvinzi himself succeeded Wurmser; and in this ever unequal struggle we must needs be destroyed at last."

Napoleon caused the following reply to be made. "We have only one more effort to make, and Italy is ours. Alvinzi's force is undoubtedly more numerous than ours; but half his troops are mere recruits. When once he is defeated, Mantua must fall; we shall remain masters of Italy; our labours will be terminated, for not only the possession of Italy, but a general peace depend on the taking of Mantua. You wish to retire to the Alps, you are no longer able to do so. From the hard and fatiguing life you led on those barren rocks, it was quite easy to come to win the luxuries of Lombardy; but after the charming flowery bivouacs of Italy, you would not be able to endure the severities and privations of those bleak mountains; you would not now support the snows and frosts of the Alps without a murmur. Reinforcements have reached us; we still expect more; many are on the road. Let those who are unwilling to fight, and who are rich enough already, talk no more about the

future. Beat Alvinzi, and I will answer for the rest."

These words, repeated throughout the army by every one possessed of generous sentiments, raised the spirits of the troops, and inspired them with feelings of a contrary kind. Thus, by turns, the army was at one time disheartened and desirous to retreat; at another, it was filled with enthusiasm, and talked only of fighting.

When it became known at Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Cremona, Lodi, Pavia, and Bologna, that the French army had sustained a check, the wounded and sick, not yet half cured, left the hospitals and came to join the ranks, with their wounds still bleeding. This affecting sight produced the most lively emotion throughout the troops.

VI. *Nocturnal march of the Army on Ronco, where it passes the Adige on a bridge of boats.*—At length, on the 14th of November, at dusk, the army *encamped at Verona* got under arms. The columns began their march in the deepest silence; they crossed the city, and formed on the right bank. The hour of setting out, the direction taken (which was that of a retreat,) the silence preserved contrary to the constant custom of giving notice, by the order of the day, that preparations were making to engage, and the state of affairs, all combined to place it beyond doubt that we were retreating. This first movement in

retreat, it was thought, which necessarily involves the raising of the siege of Mantua, *forebodes* the loss of all Italy. Those of the inhabitants who founded all their expectations of a better fate on our victories, watched with alarm and grief the movements of that army in which all their hopes were placed.

The army, however, instead of following the Peschiera road, suddenly turns to the left, and marches along the Adige: it arrives before day at Ronco. Andreossy was completing a bridge over the river; and when the first rays of the sun appeared, the army was astonished to find itself, simply by facing to the left, on the opposite bank. The officers and soldiers, who, when in pursuit of Wurmser had traversed this part of the country, now began to guess the general's intention. They perceived that as he could not carry Caldiero, he was turning it: and that being unable, with 12,000 men, to make any impression on 45,000 in the plain, he was drawing them into mere causeways, amongst vast morasses, where numbers would no longer avail any thing; but where the courage of the heads of the columns would be every thing. The hope of victory then reanimated every heart, and every one engaged to surpass his former deeds in support of so fine and so daring a plan.

Kilmaine was left at Verona, with 1500 soldiers of all kinds; the gates were strictly closed, and

all communications severely prohibited. The enemy was perfectly ignorant of our movement.

The bridge of Ronco was thrown across to the right of the Alpon, about a quarter of a league from its mouth. Had it been made to the left bank on the Albaredo side, the army would have passed into a plain; whereas the object was to enter morasses where numbers would be ineffectual. Besides, it was to be apprehended that Alvinzi, if informed of our movements, would march suddenly on Verona, and take possession of it; which would have obliged the corps of Rivoli to retire to Peschiera, and would have compromised that of Ronco. It was therefore requisite to cross to the right bank of the Alpon, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy if they should attack Verona, and thereby support that place by the left bank, which could not have been done if the bridge had been thrown across to the left bank of the Alpon, because the enemy could have lined the right bank of that river, and, thus protected, have carried Verona. These two reasons had determined the placing of the bridge. Now three roads branched from Ronco, where the bridge had been made, all of which were surrounded with morasses. The first leads to Verona, up the Adige; the second to Villa-Nuova, passing by Arcole, where there is a bridge a league and a half from the Adige, over the little stream of

the Alpon; the third runs down the side of the Adige to Albaredo.

VII. *Battle of Arcole, 1st day, 15th of November.*—Three columns directed their march by these three roads. That on the left *re-ascended the Adige* as far as the extremity of the morasses; thence the communication with Verona was unimpeded. This point was one of the utmost importance; by securing it, all apprehensions of seeing Verona attacked by the enemy were removed, because the French would have been in their rear. The column of the right took the road to Albaredo, and occupied it as far as the Alpon. That of the centre advanced on Arcole, where our skirmishers reached the bridge without being perceived. It was five o'clock in the morning, and the enemy knew nothing of our proceedings. The first shots were fired on the bridge of Arcole, where two battalions of Croats, with two pieces of cannon, were in bivouac as a corps of observation, to guard the rear of the army, where were all the parks, and to watch the parties which the garrison of Legnago might detach into the plain. That place was only three leagues off; the enemy had been so negligent as not to advance any posts to the Adige; they looked on this space as impracticable marshes. The interval from Arcole to the Adige was not guarded; the enemy had contented themselves with sending some patrols of hussars, who thrice a day rode over the dykes,

and reconnoitred the Adige. The road from Ronco to Arcole meets the Alpon at two miles from Ronco, and then re-ascends the right bank of that little stream for a mile, up to the bridge, which turns perpendicularly to the right, and enters the village of Arcole. Some Croats were bivouacked, with *their right* supported on the village, and their left towards the mouth of the rivulet. This bivouac had in front *the dyke*, from which it was separated only by the rivulet; by firing in front they took the column, the head of which was advancing on Arcole, in flank. It was necessary to fall back hastily to that point of the road, the side of which was no longer exposed to the left bank. Alvinzi was informed that some firing had taken place at the bridge of Arcole, but he paid little attention to the circumstance. However, at day-break, the movement of the French could be distinguished from Caldiero and the neighbouring steeples. Already the reconnoitring parties of hussars, which every morning rode along the banks of the Adige, to ascertain the events of the night, were received with a fire of musketry on all the dykes, and pursued by the French cavalry. Alvinzi then received from all quarters certain intelligence that the French had passed the Adige, and were in force on all the dykes. It seemed to him folly to suppose that a whole army could thus have been thrown into impracticable morasses. He rather thought it

must be a detachment placed there to harrass him, whilst he should be attacked in force from the side of Verona. But his reconnoitring parties on the Verona side, having brought him intelligence that all was quiet there, Alvinzi thought it necessary to repulse these French troops beyond the Adige, for the security of his rear. He ordered one division to advance by the dyke of Arcole, and another towards the dyke, which *runs parallel with* the Adige, with orders to fall furiously on all they should meet, and drive them *all* into the *river*. Accordingly, towards nine o'clock, these two divisions made a brisk attack. Massena, who was entrusted with the left dyke, having allowed the enemy to advance, charged them furiously, broke them, caused them considerable loss, and took a great number of prisoners. The same thing was done on the dyke of Arcole: they waited until the Austrians had turned the elbow of the bridge; they then charged and routed them, and took many prisoners. It became of the utmost importance to gain possession of Arcole, because that was the point from whence to debouch on the rear of the enemy, before they could be formed. But this bridge of Arcole, by its situation, resisted all our attacks. Napoleon, in person, tried a last effort; he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. The column he led had half cleared the bridge, when the flank fire caused

their attack to fail. The grenadiers of the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitate, they are induced to retire, but they will not abandon their general; they seize him by his arms, his hair, and his clothes, and drag him along with them, in their flight, amidst the dead, the dying, the fire, and smoke. *The General-in-chief* is thrown into a marsh, where he sinks up to the middle; *he is in the midst of the enemy;* but the French perceive that their general is not amongt them. A cry is heard of "Soldiers, forward, to rescue the general!" These brave men instantly turn, and rush upon the enemy; they drive them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon is saved. That was a day of military self-devotion. General Lannes had hastened from Milan; he had been wounded at *Governolo;* he was still suffering; yet he threw himself between the enemy and Napoleon, covering him with his body, and received three wounds, resolved never to quit him. Muiron, Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, was killed whilst covering his General.—Affecting and heroic death!—Belliard and Vignoles were wounded whilst rallying the *troops* and urging them *forward.* The brave *General* Robert, was killed there.

A bridge was now thrown over at the mouth of the Alpon, in order to take Arcole in rear, but, in the mean time, Alvinzi, informed of the true state of affairs, and excessively alarmed with re-

spect to the danger of his situation, had abandoned Caldiero, destroyed his batteries, and made all his parks, baggage, and reserves, repass the Alpon. From the top of the steeple of Ronco, the French saw with regret the escape of their expected prey; and it was then that, from the precipitate movements of the enemy, the extent and consequences of the French General's plan became apparent. Every one saw what might have been the results of so profound and bold a conception: the enemy's army narrowly escaped destruction. General Guyeux could not march on Arcole, by the left bank of the Alpon, until four o'clock. The village was carried without striking a blow; but this success was then useless; it was six hours too late; the enemy had established themselves in a natural position. Arcole was now merely an intermediate post between the fronts of the two armies. In the morning this village had been in the rear of the enemy.

The results of this day were, however, highly important: Caldiero was evacuated, and Verona was no longer in danger. Two of Alvinzi's divisions had been defeated with considerable loss. Numerous columns of prisoners, and a great number of trophies defiled *through the camp*, filling the soldiers and officers with enthusiasm; and every one resumed confidence, and exulted in victory.

VIII. *Second day, 16th of November.*—In the mean time Davidowich, with his corps from the

Tyrol, had attacked the heights of Rivoli the preceding day. He had forced Vaubois from thence, and obliged him to retreat on Castel-Nuovo. The enemy's light horse already appeared at the gates of Verona. Kilmaine, disengaged from Alvinzi, and relieved from all apprehensions with respect to the left bank, by the evacuation of Caldiero, had directed all his attention to the right bank; but it was to be feared, that if the enemy should march rapidly on Castel-Nuovo, they might overthrow Vaubois, reach Mantua, surprise the besieging army, join the garrison, and cut off the retreat of the head-quarters, and of the army which was at Ronco. It was therefore necessary to be ready, at day-break, to support Vaubois, protect Mantua and its communications, and beat Davidowich, if he had advanced during the day. For the success of this plan it was necessary to calculate the hours. The General resolved, therefore, being uncertain of what had passed in the course of the day, to suppose that Vaubois had been completely unfortunate. He caused Arcole, which had cost so much blood, to be evacuated, and the whole army to fall back on the right bank of the Adige, leaving on the left bank only one brigade and a few pieces of cannon. In this position he ordered the troops to refresh themselves, whilst waiting for intelligence of what might have passed on Vaubois's side during this day. If the enemy had marched

on Castel-Nuovo, it would have been necessary to break up the bridge over the Adige, to withdraw from before Alvinzi, and to be, at ten o'clock, in the rear of Vaubois at *Castel-Nuovo, and overthrow the enemy on Rivoli.* Bivouacs with fires lighted had been left at Arcole, as well as strong piquets, in order that Alvinzi might perceive nothing. At four in the morning the drums beat to arms, in order to prepare for marching. But at the same moment, it was ascertained that Vaubois was still in position half-way between Rivoli and Castel-Nuovo, and that he declared he would answer for holding out all day. Davidowich was the same General who had commanded one of the divisions which Wurmser had caused to debouch by the Chiusa; he remembered the results of those operations, and was not forward to compromise himself. Towards three o'clock in the morning, however, Alvinzi, having received intelligence of the retrograde march of the French, had Arcole occupied immediately, and at dawn directed two columns on the dykes of the Adige and of Arcole, to march against us. The firing began at 200 toises from our bridge; the troops repassed it in charging time, fell on the enemy, broke them, and pursued them briskly to the debouchés of the morasses, which were filled with their dead. Some colours, cannon, and prisoners, were the trophies of this victory, in which two divisions more of Alvinzi's force were defeated.

Towards evening *the French General*, through the same motives and combinations, made the same movement as the preceding day. He concentrated all his troops on the right bank of the Adige, leaving only a vanguard on the left bank.

IX. *Third day, 17th of November.*—In the mean time Alvinzi, led into an error by a spy, who assured him that the French General had repassed the Adige, and marched on Mantua, leaving only a rear-guard at Ronco, debouched at daybreak, with the intention of carrying the bridge of Ronco. An instant before day, it was ascertained that nothing had taken place on Vaubois's side, and that Davidowich had made no movement. The French returned to the other side of the Adige. The head of our columns fell in with two more of Alvinzi's divisions half-way up the dykes. An obstinate engagement was fought; our troops *alternately advanced, and fell back. For one moment*, the enemy's balls reached the bridge. The 75th having been broken, the General-in-chief placed the 32d in ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows, along the dyke of Arcole. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and overthrew into the marsh a dense column of the enemy, consisting of 3000 Croats, who all perished there. Massena, on the left, experienced some vicissitudes; but he marched *at the head of his division*, with his hat suspended on his sword, by way of a standard,

and made a horrible carnage of the division *opposed to him.*

After midnight *the French General* concluded that the decisive moment was arrived. For if Vaubois had been beaten during this day by Davidowich, he would be obliged to march the following day, to the assistance of that general and of Mantua. Alvinzi would then immediately advance on Verona, he would reap the honour and advantages of victory; the great success obtained during the last three days would be thrown away. Napoleon had the prisoners carefully counted; recapitulated the losses of the enemy; concluded that their strength had been diminished during these three days by a loss of 20,000 men; that their numbers in battle would therefore be *little more than a third above our own. He gave orders to leave the marshes—and to attack the enemy in the plain.*

The circumstances of these three days had so entirely changed the spirit of the two armies, that we were secure of the victory. The army passed the bridge thrown over at the mouth of the Alpon. Elliot, *Aide-de-camp* to the General-in-chief, being ordered to construct a second, was killed there. At two o'clock in the morning, the French army was in line of battle, its left at Arcole, and its right in the direction of Porto-Lignano; it had the enemy in front, whose right was supported on the Alpon, and whose left had some morasses for

an appui. The enemy had positions on both sides of the road of Montebello. Adjutant Lorcet had set out from Lignano with 6 or 700 men, four pieces of cannon, and 200 horses, to turn the marshes on which the left of the enemy was supported. Towards three o'clock, at the moment when this detachment of the garrison of Lignano marched against the enemy, when the cannonade was brisk throughout the line, and the skirmishers were hotly engaged, the French general ordered Colonel Hercule to proceed with fifty of the corps of guides, and four or five trumpets, through the reeds, and to charge the extremity of the enemy's left, at the same moment as the garrison of Lignano should begin to cannonade it in the rear; which he executed in an intelligent manner, and thereby contributed greatly to the success of the day. The enemy were overthrown on all sides, their line was broken; they lost many prisoners. Alvinzi had placed 7 or 8000 men in *Echelon* in his rear, to secure his retreat, and escort his parks, whereby his line of battle was reduced to equal strength with ours. He was vigorously chased all the rest of the evening. He continued his retreat on Vicenza throughout the night: our cavalry pursued him beyond Montebello.

When Napoleon arrived at Villa-Nuova, he stopped to receive reports of the pursuit of the enemy, and the conduct of their rear-guard. He entered the convent of St. Boniface, the church

of which had served as an hospital. There he found 4 or 500 wounded men, most of them dead; the stench of putrefaction exhaled from the place; he drew back with horror. He heard himself called by his name; two unfortunate French soldiers, wounded, had for three days been left amongst the dead, without anything to eat; their wounds had not been dressed, they despaired of their own lives; but they were recalled to existence by the sight of their general; every assistance was speedily rendered to them.

The French general visited the heights of Caldiero, and resumed his march towards Verona. When half way there, he met an Austrian staff officer sent by Davidowich to Alvinzi. This young man thought himself in the midst of his friends. According to his dispatches, there had been no communication between the two armies for three days. Davidowich was ignorant of all that had happened.

X. *The French army re-enters Verona in triumph by the right bank.*—Napoleon entered triumphantly into Verona by the right bank, three days after having left that city in a mysterious manner by the Milan gate. It would be difficult to conceive the astonishment and enthusiasm of the inhabitants; our most declared enemies could not remain indifferent, and added their applause to that of our friends. The French general crossed to the right bank of the Adige, and advanced on Davidowich

who was still at Rivoli. That general was driven from post to post, and hotly pursued as far as Roveredo. It is calculated that out of Alvinzi's 60 or 70,000 men, he lost in these affairs from 30 to 35,000; and these were the best of his troops.

But these great results were not obtained without losses, and the army stood, more than ever, in need of rest. The French general did not think fit to re-enter the Tyrol, and extend his forces as far as Trent. He contented himself with having Montebello, Corona, and the passes of the Chiusa and Adige occupied. Alvinzi rallied at Bassano, and Davidowich at Trent. It was however to be expected that Mantua would soon be obtained, before the Austrian general could receive a new army. The frequent sorties of Wurmser to obtain a few provisions, the great number of lean deserters who came in, and had been a month kept on half rations, the destitute state of his hospitals and the great number of his sick were all calculated to excite hopes of a speedy surrender.

BATTLE OF RIVOLI.

From the offensive operations of Provera, on the 1st of January 1797, to the surrender of Mantua, on the 1st of February following, a space of one month, (See the map.)

I. *State of Italy.*—Venice was making new levies of Sclavonians; new battalions of them arrived daily on the Lagunes; the various parties were on the alert in all the cities of the Venetian territory. The citadels of Verona and Brescia were in the possession of the French troops. Some troubles which happened at Bergamo, made it evidently necessary to occupy the citadel there, of which General Baraguey d'Hilliers took possession accordingly. The negotiations with Rome were kept on, *but did not proceed:* experience had proved that *nothing could be done with that court but by threats and the presence of force. The General-in-chief* announced at Milan his departure for Rome. He dispatched *General Lahosse with* 4000 Italians for Bologna; directed a body of 3000 French on the same city, and gave notice to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, that his troops would

traverse the states of that Prince in their way to Perugia; he actually set out himself, and went to Bologna. Manfredini went thither to meet him, for the purpose of taking care of his master's interest; and returned with the conviction that the French general was marching on Rome. For this once the court was not the dupe of all these appearances, but remained unmoved. It was perfectly acquainted with all the plans adopted at Vienna, and had hopes of their success. When, however, it found that the French general was at Bologna, the Secretary of State was astonished; but the Austrian Minister kept up his courage, by convincing him that nothing could be more favourable to their views than to draw the French general far into the interior of Italy, and that even should it be necessary to quit Rome, it would be a fortunate event, as it would more effectually secure the defeat of the French on the Adige.

II. *Situation of the Austrian army.*—Alvinzi *daily* received considerable reinforcements. The Paduan, the Trevisan, and all the Bassanese countries were *covered* with Austrian troops. Two months had elapsed since the battle of Arcole; Austria had profited by this interval, to bring into Friuli the divisions drawn from the banks of the Rhine, where the French armies were inactive and in complete winter quarters. One general impulse had been given to the whole Austrian monarchy. Several battalions of excellent marks-

men were raised in the Tyrol; it was an easy matter to persuade them that it was necessary to defend their territory, and to assist in the reconquest of Italy, so essential to the prosperity of the Tyrol. The successes of Austria, in Germany, during the last campaign, and her reverses in Italy, had roused *public spirit*. The great cities offered battalions of volunteers; Vienna furnished four: thus was *a reinforcement* of ten or twelve thousand volunteers raised. The battalions of Vienna received from the Empress colours embroidered with her own hands. *They lost them*, but defended them honourably. The army of Austria was composed of eight divisions of unequal strength, of several brigades of cavalry incorporated with these divisions; and of two divisions of cavalry. His army was estimated at more than 80,000 fighting men.

III. *Situation of the French army.*—The French army had been reinforced, since the battle of Arcole, by two regiments of infantry drawn from the coasts of Provence, of which the 57th was part, and by a regiment of cavalry. *This made up about* five or six thousand men; and repaired the losses sustained at Arcole, and in the blockade of Mantua. Joubert, with a strong division, occupied Montebaldo, Rivoli, and Busselengo. Rey, with a division of less force, was in reserve at Dezenzano. Massena was at Verona, with a vanguard at St. Michel. Augereau at Legnago,

with a vanguard at Bevilaqua. Serrurier was blockading Mantua. Corona was covered with intrenchments. The castles of Verona and of Legnago were in good condition, as well as Peschiera and Pizzeghettone. The citadels of Brescia and Bergamo, the fort of Fuente, the citadel of Ferrara, and fort Urbino, were occupied. A naval armament on the Lake of Garda secured us the possession of that Lake. Armed barks placed on Lake Maggiore and the Lake of Como, kept up a strict police thereon.

IV. *Plan of operations adopted by the Court of Vienna.* Wurmser had debouched in three columns; his right by the road of the Chiusa, beyond the Lake of Garda, his centre by Montebaldo, between the Lake of Garda and the Adige; his left by the left bank of the Adige. Some months afterwards Alvinzi had attacked in two columns; the one operating in the Tyrol, the other on the Piave, the Brenta, and the Adige. *But the battles of Lonato, Castiglione, and Arcole, had defeated those two plans of campaign. The Court of Vienna adopted, this time, a new plan,* which was connected with the operations of Rome. It was determined that the Austrian army should make two grand attacks; the first by Montebaldo, as Wurmser had done; the second on the Adige by the plains of the Paduan country. That the two corps which were to execute these attacks should have nothing in

common between them; that they should march independently of each other, so that if one should succeed, the first object would be gained, and the blockade of Mantua raised. The principal corps was to debouch by the Tyrol, and if it should defeat the French army, it would arrive under the walls of Mantua, and there effect its junction with the second corps acting on the Adige. If, on the contrary, the principal attack should be defeated, and the second corps should succeed, the siege of Mantua would equally be raised, and the place re-provisioned. This army would then march to the Seraglio, and establish its communications with Rome. Marshal Wurmser would take the command of the army which was in Romania. The great number of generals, officers, and dismounted cavalry, who would be found at Mantua, would serve to discipline the Pope's army, and make a diversion which would oblige the French General to have also two armies, one on the left, the other on the right bank of the Po.

A very intelligent secret agent sent from Vienna, was seized by a French sentinel, as he was clearing the last post of the French army before Mantua. He was forced to give up his dispatches, which he had swallowed, inclosed in a little ball of sealing wax. This dispatch was a little letter written in a very minute hand, signed by the Emperor Francis. It was to inform

Wurmser that he would speedily be extricated. At all events it ordered him not to surrender himself prisoner; but rather to evacuate the place and pass the Po, which he could do as he was master of the Seraglio; and to proceed to the states of the Pope, where he was to take the command of that potentate's army. The Emperor of Austria supposed, as may be seen, that Wurmser was master of the Seraglio; he was, however, ill informed.

V. *Action of St. Michel.*—In execution of the plan adopted by the Court of Vienna, Provera had the command of the army intended to act on the Adige, to pass that river, and advance on Mantua. The volunteer battalions of Vienna composed part of the army, which consisted of three divisions, containing 25,000 men. In the beginning of January, Provera removed his head-quarters to Padua. On the 12th he marched with two divisions, on Montagna, where the vanguard of Augereau, commanded by the brave General Duphot was stationed. At the same instant the third Austrian division, which had taken up a position in the heights of Caldiero, marched on St. Michel to attack Massena's vanguard, whose head-quarters were at Verona; this was a false attack. General Duphot being attacked at daybreak by the vanguard of Provera, composed of the volunteers of Vienna, easily checked and repulsed them. But about noon,

the whole Austrian army having deployed, Duphot retreated, and repassed the Adige at Legnago. The division which formed Provera's right, and which attacked St. Michel, was the weakest. General Massena marched from Verona to the aid of his vanguard. The Austrian division was broken, dispersed, and pursued with great slaughter beyond the Alpon.

At this juncture the French General arrived post from Bologna. He had received intelligence from his Venetian agents, of the movement of the Austrian army on Padua. He had made the Italian troops encamp on the frontier of the Transpadan country, to oppose the Pope; ordered the 2,000 French from Bologna to march on Ferrara, where they had passed the Po at Ponte-di-Lagoscuro, and joined the army on the Adige. He passed the Po in person at Borgo-forte, repaired to the head-quarters at Roverbella, and reached Verona in the heat of the action of St Michel. He instantly ordered Massena to withdraw in the night all his troops upon Verona.

The enemy appeared to be in operation, and it was necessary to keep all the troops disposable in order to march to whatever quarter the true attack should be made on. In the course of the night news arrived from the head-quarters at Legnago, that the whole Austrian army was in movement on the Lower Adige; that the grand staff of the enemy was already there, as well as

two pontoon trains. The report of General Duphot, a confidential officer, left no doubt with respect to the numerous forces deployed before him; he reckoned them at 20,000 men, and supposed them to form the enemy's first line. The opinion that the enemy were operating on the Lower Adige, was confirmed by the intelligence of what had passed at Corona. Joubert sent word that during the whole of the 12th he had been attacked by the enemy, whom he had withstood; and that the Austrian division had been repulsed in all its attacks.

VI. *General Alvinzi occupies Corona, and throws a bridge over the Adige.*—The French General ordered Massena's division to repass the Adige, and to join on the right bank. He thus awaited all day on the 13th, the events which might have occurred on the same day at Legnago, on the Adige, and at Corona. The troops received notice to prepare for a nocturnal march, and to be under arms at ten o'clock at night. The division which was at Dezenzano, marched on the 11th to Castel-Nuovo, where it awaited fresh orders.

The rain fell in torrents. The troops were under arms, but the General-in-chief did not as yet know in what direction he should order them to proceed. At ten o'clock the reports from Montebaldo and the Lower Adige arrived. Joubert wrote that on the 13th, at nine in the morning, the enemy had deployed numerous forces;

that he had fought all day; that his position was very confined; that he had been fortunate enough to maintain himself there; but that at two o'clock in the afternoon, having perceived that he was outflanked on the left, by the march of an Austrian division which proceeded along the Lake of Garda, and seemed to threaten to place itself between Peschiera and him; and on his right by another division of the enemy which had proceeded along the left bank of the Adige, thrown a bridge over, a league above Rivoli, crossed that river, and was filing along the right bank, passing along the foot of Montebaldo, to carry the level of Rivoli; he had considered it indispensably necessary to send a brigade to secure the level of Rivoli, the key of the whole position, and that about four o'clock he had himself deemed it requisite to abandon Corona, in order to arrive by daylight at the level of Rivoli, which he should be compelled to evacuate the following morning before nine o'clock. On the Lower Adige the enemy had lined the left bank. We were on the right bank. The enemy's plan was therefore discovered. It was evident that he was operating with two grand armies on Montebaldo and the Lower Adige. Augereau's division appeared sufficient to dispute and defend the passage of that river. At Montebaldo there was not a moment to be lost, because the enemy was about to join his cavalry and artillery, by taking

possession of the level of Rivoli; and if he could be attacked before he should gain that important point, he would be obliged to fight without artillery or cavalry. Nor was it doubtful that the principal attack of the enemy was by Montebaldo. All the troops were therefore dispatched to the level of Rivoli, whither the General-in-chief also repaired in person at two o'clock in the morning.

VII. *Battle of Rivoli.*—The weather had cleared up, and it was a beautiful moonlight. Napoleon ascended several heights, and observed the different lines of the enemy's fires. They filled the country between the Adige and the Lake of Garda; the atmosphere was reddened by them. Five corps were easily distinguished, which seemed formed on five divisions, *which had commenced their movement the day before.* Judging by the fires of the bivouacs, it seemed that there were about 40 or 50,000 men. The French would be at Rivoli by six in the morning, to the number of 22,000 men: *this was, indeed, a very great disproportion, but we had the advantage of possessing sixty pieces of cannon and several thousand cavalry.* It was evident from the position of the bivouacs of the enemy that they intended to attack us towards nine or ten in the morning. The column of the right, which was the most distant, was intended to surround *the level* of Rivoli in the rear; *it could not come up before ten o'clock;* the object of

the first division of the centre, seemed to be to attack the position of our left. The second, which was on the upper ridge of Montebaldo, near St. Marco, was intended to gain possession of the chapel of St. Marco, to descend by the level of Rivoli, and to open the way to the left column, which had passed along the foot of Montebaldo, and was in bivouac at the edge of the level, along the Adige, at the bottom of the valley. The fifth bivouac appeared to be a division of reserve; it was far in the rear.

On these data Napoleon formed his plan. He ordered Joubert, who had evacuated the chapel of St. Marco, and who now occupied the level of Rivoli only with a vanguard, to resume an offensive attitude *immediately*, to regain possession of the chapel, and at the dawn of day, to push the second division of the centre of the enemy as far as possible. A hundred Croats, being informed by a prisoner of the evacuation of St. Marco, had just taken possession of it, when Joubert returned to that chapel at four o'clock in the morning, and once more took up his position in advance.

The firing commenced with a regiment of Croats. On the approach of day, Joubert attacked the division in front of him, and drove it from height to height, in the upper ridge of Montebaldo, which commands the valley of the Adige. The first Austrian division of the centre then hastened its

march, and a little before nine o'clock *reached* the heights on the left of the level of Rivoli. It had no artillery. The 14th and the 85th who guarded this level had each a battery. The 14th, who occupied the right, repulsed the attacks of the enemy; the 85th was outfronted and broken. But the French General hastened to Massena's division, which having marched all night, was taking a little rest, *led them against the enemy*, and in less than half an hour the first Austrian division of the centre was beaten and routed. It was then half after ten o'clock. The Austrian division of the left, composed of 3000 infantry, 5 or 6000 cavalry, all the wagons, and the heavy baggage of the army, was at the bottom of the valley; and hearing the firing near the level, and perceiving that Joubert, who was a league in advance, had now no force at the chapel of St. Marco, detached some battalions of light troops to ascend and occupy it, and to take Joubert in the rear. When these battalions were half way up, the enemy ventured to debouch with twelve pieces of cannon, two or three battalions of infantry, and 1000 cavalry. This operation was difficult; it was an absolute escalade. Joubert *having perceived it*, sent three battalions, in double quick time, who reached the chapel before the enemy, and precipitated them to the bottom of the valley. A battery of fifteen pieces placed on the level of Rivoli, showered case-shot on that part of the

column of the left which had begun to debouch. Colonel Leclerc charged by platoons with 300 horse. Lasalle chief of squadron, was at the head of the first platoon, and by his intrepidity decided the success of the charge. The enemy were overthrown in the ravine; all that had debouched, were taken, infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

At eleven o'clock the column of the right of the Austrian army arrived at the position marked out for it, where it met with our division of reserve from Dezenzano. The enemy stationed one brigade for the purpose of keeping our division in check. Their other brigade, 4000 strong, took post on the eminence, on the two sides of the road, from Verona to the level of Rivoli. They had no artillery; they thought they had turned the French army, but it was too late. Scarcely had they climbed the height, when they witnessed the rout of the three Austrian divisions *of the centre and left*. From twelve to fifteen *pieces of the reserve* of artillery were turned against them. After a brisk cannonade they were attacked, surrounded, and all taken prisoners. The second brigade which was more in the rear, in position against the reserve from Dezenzano, began its retreat. It was hotly pursued, a great number of the soldiers who composed it were killed or taken. It was one o'clock in the afternoon; the enemy were retreating from all points, and closely pursued.

Joubert advanced with such rapidity, that at one moment we thought the whole of Alvinzi's army was taken. Joubert reached the steps, the enemy's only retreat; but Alvinzi, sensible of his danger, marched with his troops of reserve, checked Joubert, and even made him give some ground. The battle was won. We had taken some cannon, colours, and a great number of prisoners; two of our detachments who were coming to join the army, *fell in with the division which had cut us off from the Verona road.* A report was immediately spread in the rear, that the French army was surrounded and lost.

During this battle the General-in-chief was several times surrounded by the enemy. He had several horses killed and wounded. Chabot occupied Verona with a handful of troops; but the Caldiero division had suffered so much on the 12th at St. Michel, that it had not been able to molest him. It merely kept its position.

VIII. *Passage of the Adige by Provera.—He marches on Mantua.*—On the 14th Provera constructed a bridge at Anghiari; and on the 15th, at daybreak, he passed the Adige and commenced his march on Mantua. Augereau advanced on the enemy's bridge, made prisoners of fifteen hundred men whom Provera had left to guard it, and gained possession of the bridge during the 15th; but Provera had gained *a march* upon him. *Mantua was endangered.*

It is difficult to prevent an enemy who has several pontoon trains, from passing a river, when the object of the army which defends the passage is to cover a siege. The General must have taken his measures for *reaching an* intermediate position between the bank which he defends, and the place which he covers, before the enemy. The French General had given orders accordingly. As soon as the enemy should have passed, the division was to proceed to the Molinella, reach it before the enemy, and after covering the fortress, march against them. This principle and these instructions were forgotten, and Mantua was thereby placed in jeopardy.

At three in the afternoon, Napoleon having received intelligence that Provera was constructing a bridge at Anghiari, instantly foresaw what would happen. He left Massena, Murat, and Joubert to pursue Alvinzi on the following day, and immediately set out for the lines before Mantua, with four regiments. He reached Roverbello as Provera arrived before Saint George's. Hohenzollern, who commanded Provera's vanguard, appeared on the 16th, at daybreak. He came up to the gate of Saint George's at the head of a regiment covered with white cloaks. He knew that this gate was not fortified, but covered only with a simple field entrenchment; and was in hopes of surprising it. Miollis, who commanded there, stationed guards only on the side of the

town. He knew that he was covered by a division that was on the Adige, and that the enemy were far off. Hohenzollern's hussars resembled the 1st French hussars. But an old serjeant of the garrison of Saint George's, who was cutting wood 200 yards from the place, noticed this cavalry coming up to the town; he conceived some doubts, which he communicated to one of his comrades. They thought the white cloaks looked too new for those of Berchini's regiment. These brave men, in this uncertainty, ran into Saint George's, calling to arms, and shut the barrier. The cavalry set off at full gallop, but it was too late; they were recognized, and fired upon with grape shot. All the troops were immediately on the ramparts. At noon Provera surrounded the place. The brave Miollis, with 1500 men, defended himself all day.

IX. *Battle of La Favorite.*—In the mean time Provera communicated with Wurmser, by means of a bark, across the lake. On the 17th at dawn, Wurmser came out with the garrison, and took up a position at La Favorite. At one in the morning Napoleon placed the regiments between La Favorite and Saint George's, and prevented the garrison of Mantua from joining Provera. Serrurier attacked the garrison of Mantua, at daybreak, with the troops of the blockade. The General-in-chief attacked Provera. It was at that battle that the 67th gained the name of *ter-*

rible. Alone it rushed upon the Austrian line with the bayonet, and overthrew all that dared to oppose it. At two in the afternoon, the garrison of Mantua having been repulsed, Provera capitulated, and laid down his arms, leaving us many stand of colours, much baggage, several parks, and some pontoon trains. Six thousand prisoners, with several generals, remained in our hands. Of Provera's 22,000 men, none escaped but the remains of the division which had attacked St. Michel on the 12th, who still remained in their position at Caldiero, and 1500 men whom Provera had left on the left bank of the Adige, to guard his parks and magazines; all the rest were taken or killed. This was called the battle of La Favorite.

On the 15th, Joubert drove Alvinzi before him all day, and came up to the steps so rapidly, that 6 or 7000 men were cut off. Murat, with one column, directed his march on Corona, and entered the Tyrol. Head-quarters were removed back to Verona. Massena's division proceeded to Bassano. One of Alvinzi's divisions attempted to rally on the Brenta, but was defeated and repulsed beyond the Piave. General Augereau marched to Castel-Franco, and from thence to Trevisa. A few encounters took place with his vanguard. All the Austrian troops repassed the Piave. The passes of the Tyrol were universally blocked up with snow; this was the greatest ob-

stacle Joubert had to surmount; but the French infantry triumphed over every difficulty. Joubert entered Trent. General Victor was detached on the Avisio, and by the passes of the Brenta, and re-established his communications with Massena, whose head-quarters were at Bassano.

Many prisoners were taken in several trifling actions: numbers of Austrian sick, and abundance of magazines, were found in all directions. The army was now in the same position as after the battles of Roveredo and Bassano, and before that of Arcole; and Bessieres was sent to carry the new trophies to Paris. The actions of St. Michel, Rivoli, Anghiari, and La Favorite, cost Alvinzi more than two-thirds of his army. Out of his 80,000 men, he did not reconduct more than 25,000 into Austria.

X. *Surrender of Mantua.*—Henceforth, we were no longer apprehensive with respect to Mantua. The garrison had long been on half-allowance; all the horses had been eaten. Wurmser was informed of the results of the battle of Rivoli; there were now no hopes for him. He was summoned to surrender: he answered, proudly, that he had provisions for a-year. Nevertheless, a few days after, Klenau, his first aide-de-camp, repaired to Serrurier's head-quarters. He protested that the garrison still had provisions for three months; but that as the Marshal did not believe that Austria could relieve the place in

time, his conduct would be regulated by the conditions proposed to him. Serrurier answered, that he would go and take the commands of the General-in-chief on this subject.

Napoleon repaired to Roverbello: Serrurier caused Klenau to be called in. The French general remained unknown, wrapped in his mantle. The conversation began between Serrurier and Klenau. The latter made use of the common arguments, and enlarged on the extensive means which Wurmser still commanded, and the great quantity of provisions *which he had in his magazines of reserve*. The French General went to the table, and spent about half an hour, during which the discussion with Serrurier continued, in writing his decisions in the margin of Wurmser's proposals. *When he had done writing*, he said to Klenau,—"If Wurmser had but provisions for eighteen or twenty days, he would not deserve an *honourable* capitulation. Here are the terms I grant him," added he, returning the paper to Serrurier: "you will find there, in particular, that he is to be personally at liberty, because I honour his great age, and his merits, and because I do not wish him to become the victim of the machinations of his enemies at Vienna. *If he opens the gates to-morrow, he shall have the terms I have just written: if he delays a fortnight, a month, or even two, he shall still be*

allowed the same conditions. He may now, therefore, hold out to his last bit of bread. I shall set out, directly, to pass the Po, and march on Rome. You know my intentions, go and communicate them to your General."

Klenau, who at first comprehended nothing of this address, soon guessed *with whom he had to do.* He examined the decisions, the perusal of which filled him with gratitude and admiration at conduct so generous and unhoped for. Dissimulation was no longer necessary, and he confessed that he had not provisions for more than three days. Wurmser sent an invitation *to the French General,* as he was to corss the Po, to pass it at Mantua, which would have saved him much distance and difficulty. But all arrangements for the journey were already made. Wurmser wrote to him to express his gratitude, and a few days afterwards sent an aide-de-camp to him at Bologna, to inform him of a plot to poison him, which was to be executed in Romania, and gave him the necessary information to preserve himself; this communication was useful. General Serrurier, therefore, presided over all the details of the surrender of Mantua, and saw the old Marshal and all the staff of his army file off before him. Napoleon was by that time in Romania. The indifference with which he declined the flattering spectacle of a Marshal of great reputa-

tion, Generalissimo of the Austrian forces, at the head of his staff, delivering up his sword, *excited great* astonishment throughout Europe.

Note by the Editor, written under dictation.—1st, Alvinzi, whatever may be said in the different reports, had 80,000 men, including Provera's troops. The forces of the Tyrol amounted to above 50,000 men. Provera had 25,000, of whom 7000 fought at St. Michel, and 18,000, forming two divisions, marched on Mantua. Of these 18,000 men, 3000 remained in his rear, 10,000 advanced to St. George's, and 5000 remained behind on the Molinella, to repel the movement of Augereau, who was following: these were all taken. If only 7000 prisoners were found in Provera's column, it was because he had engaged twice, at Anghiari and Saint George's, besides fighting the battle of La Favorite, in which affairs he lost many men; and because many of the Austrian soldiers, who went into the hospitals, are not included in the number of the prisoners. The reports notice only 23,000 prisoners; but the truth is, the French took more than 30,000; generally speaking the army did not take good care of its prisoners, but let a great number escape. The cabinet of Vienna had organized establishments in Switzerland, and on the roads, to facilitate their desertion. It may be estimated that a fourth of the prisonērs escaped on their way to the central head-quarters; and another fourth on

their way to France, where not more than half the prisoners taken arrived. Many were also crowded together in the hospitals.

2dly, If, according to the official report, Bessieres only presented seventy-one stand of colours to the Directory, it was because thirteen remained behind, owing to some of the mistakes which are usual in the movements of a grand staff. They will be found amongst those which Augereau subsequently presented, after the taking of Mantua.

3dly, Of the sixty stand of colours which Augereau presented to the Directory, thirteen were remains of the trophies of Rivoli and La Favorite, which Bessieres ought to have presented. The other forty-seven were found in Mantua; and prove how numerous were the regimental establishments of Wurmser's army shut up in that place.

Augereau was chosen to carry these colours, in recompense for the services he had rendered the army, particularly at the battle of Castiglione. It would, nevertheless, have been more natural to have sent them by Massena, who had very superior claims. But the General-in-chief had much more dependence on the latter, with a view to the campaign in Germany, and did not choose to part with him. Some people thought that Napoleon, perceiving that there were persons who endeavoured to raise the reputation of General Augereau to an extravagant pitch, was glad to send

him to Paris, in order to give every one an opportunity of forming a just estimate of the character and talents of this officer, who could not fail to suffer by the examination. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion that the object of the General-in-chief was to fix the attention of Paris on one of his lieutenants: Augereau was a Parisian.

Third day of the Emperor's seclusion.— Recapitulation of his history.

May 1st.—The Emperor kept his room to-day as he had done yesterday. I felt ill from the fatigue of my ride from the Briars; I had a slight degree of fever, accompanied by great lassitude. The Emperor sent for me about seven o'clock in the evening. I went to his chamber and found him reading Rollin, whom he accused, as usual, of being too indulgent a historian. He did not appear to have been indisposed, and even said he was very well; but this only rendered me the more uneasy at his seclusion and his calmness of manner. He put off dinner to a later hour than usual, and detained me with him. He called for a glass of Constanctia some time before dinner; this he generally does when he feels the want of excitation.

After dinner he looked over a few of the addresses, proclamations, or acts in Goldsmith's imperfect collection. The perusal of some of these documents seemed to interest him; then laying down the book, he began to walk about, and said, " after all, let them abridge, suppress, " and mutilate as much as they please, they will " find it very difficult to throw me entirely into " the shade. The historian of France cannot pass " over the Empire, and, if he have any honesty,

" he will not fail to render me my share of justice.
" His task will be easy; for the facts speak of
" themselves: they shine like the sun.

" I closed the gulf of anarchy and cleared the
" chaos. I purified the Revolution, dignified
" Nations and established Kings. I excited
" every kind of emulation, rewarded every kind
" of merit, and extended the limits of glory!
" This is at least something! And on what point
" can I be assailed on which an historian could
" not defend me? Can it be for my intentions?
" But even here I can find absolution. Can it be
" for my despotism? It may be demonstrated
" that the Dictatorship was absolutely necessary.
" Will it be said that I restrained liberty? It
" can be proved that licentiousness, anarchy,
" and the greatest irregularities, still haunted
" the threshold of freedom. Shall I be accused
" of having been too fond of war? It can be
" shown that I always received the first attack.
" Will it be said that I aimed at universal mo-
" narchy? It can be proved that this was
" merely the result of fortuitous circumstances,
" and that our enemies themselves led me step
" by step to this determination. Lastly, shall I be
" blamed for my ambition? This passion I must
" doubtless be allowed to have possessed, and
" that in no small degree; but, at the same time,
" my ambition was of the highest and noblest
" kind that ever, perhaps, existed! . . . . That

" of establishing and of consecrating the Em-
" pire of reason, and the full exercise and com-
" plete enjoyment of all the human faculties!
" And here the historian will probably feel com-
" pelled to regret that such ambition should not
" have been fulfilled and gratified!" . . . . Then after a few moments of silent reflection; " this," said the Emperor, " is my whole history in a few " words."

Fourth day of absolute seclusion.—The Moniteur favourable to the Emperor.

2d.—The Emperor still kept his room as on the preceding days. He sent for me about nine o'clock in the evening, after I had dined. He had seen no one during the day; I remained with him till eleven o'clock; he was in good spirits, and appeared to be well. I assured him that the days which we passed without seeing him seemed very tedious; and that we feared his health would suffer from close confinement, and the want of fresh air. For my own part, this seclusion caused me great uneasiness and affliction. He went to bed half an hour before he dismissed me: he said his legs refused to support him. He felt fatigued with walking, though he had only taken a few turns with me in his chamber.

He spoke a great deal of the Legion of Honour, of Goldsmith's Collection, and of the Moniteur.

Respecting the latter, he said, that it was certainly a very remarkable circumstance, and one of which few besides himself could boast, that he had made his way through the Revolution at so early an age, and with so much notoriety, without having to dread the Moniteur. "There is not a sentence in it," said he, "which "I could wish to obliterate. On the con- "trary, the Moniteur will infallibly serve me as "a justification, whenever I may have occasion "for it."

Fifth day of seclusion.

3d.—The Emperor still continued within doors, and saw no one; this was his fifth day of retirement. The different individuals of his establishment knew not how he occupied himself in his chamber. He sent for me, as it were, by stealth, and I went to him about six o'clock in the evening.

I again expressed to him the anxiety and pain we felt at seeing him thus secluded. He told me, he bore the confinement very well, but that he found the days long, and the nights still longer. He had been unoccupied during the whole day: he said, he had felt himself out of humour; and, indeed, he still continued silent and dull. He took the bath, and I attended him. He concluded the evening by conversing on subjects of great importance . . . . . .
. . . . . .

Sixth day of seclusion.

4th.—The Emperor still remained within doors. He had, however, expressed his intention to ride on horseback about four o'clock; but the rain prevented him from stirring out. He received the Grand Marshal in his chamber.

He sent for me about eight o'clock to dine with him. He said, that the Governor had called on the Grand Marshal, and had remained with him above an hour. His conversation had been frequently disagreeable, and sometimes even offensive. He had spoken on a variety of topics in a tone of ill-humour and disrespect, and in a very vague and indeterminate manner; reproaching us, particularly, as it appeared, with being very loud and unreasonable in our complaints. He maintained, that we were very well provided for, and ought to be content; that we seemed to be strangely mistaken with regard to what was due to our persons and our situations. He added, at least so he was understood, that he was desirous of being assured every day, by ocular testimony, of the existence and presence of the Emperor.

There is no doubt that this point was the real cause of his ill-humour and agitation. Several days had passed away without his having been able to receive any report from his officer or spies, as the Emperor had not gone out, and no one had been admitted to his presence.

But what measures would he adopt? This consideration occupied us all in our turns. The Emperor would never submit, even at the peril of his life, to a regular visit, which might be capriciously renewed at any hour of the day or night. Would the Governor employ force and violence to dispute with the Emperor a few hours repose, and a last asylum of a few feet in circumference? His instructions must have been drawn up in anticipation of the case that had now occurred. No outrage, no want of respect, or act of barbarity, could surprise me.

As to the Governor's remark that we entertained mistaken ideas with regard to ourselves and our situation, we are very conscious, that, instead of being at the Tuileries, we are at St. Helena, and that instead of being masters, we are captives; how then can we be mistaken?

On China and Russia.—Resemblance between the two great Revolutions in France and England.

5th.—About ten o'clock in the morning, the Emperor went out to ride for the first time. While he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the Resident of the East India Company in China had come to Longwood, and solicited the honour of being presented to him. He sent for him, and put some questions to him with great condescension. We then rode out to call on

Madame Bertrand. The Emperor remained there above an hour; he was weak and altered in his appearance; his conversation was languid. We returned to Longwood. The Emperor wished to breakfast out of doors.

He sent for our host at Briars, the worthy Mr. Balcombe, and the Resident from China, who was still at Longwood. The whole time of breakfast was occupied in questions relating to China, its population, laws, customs, and trade.

The Resident stated, that a circumstance occurred a few years back between the Russians and the Chinese, which might have been attended with important results, had not Russia been entirely absorbed by the affairs of Europe.

The Russian traveller, Krusenstern, in his voyage round the world, anchored at Canton with his two vessels. He was received provisionally, and was permitted, until the orders of the Court should arrive, to dispose of the furs with which his ships were laden, and to lay in a cargo of tea in their stead. The orders from the Chinese court were delayed for more than a month, and M. de Krusenstern had set sail two days before they arrived. They directed that the two vessels should quit the port immediately; that all trade with the Russians in that quarter was prohibited; that enough had been conceded to their Emperor by land in the North of the Empire; that it was monstrous in him to attempt to

extend his intercourse in the South by sea; and that strong displeasure would be manifested towards those who had shewn them that course. The order further decreed, that, in the event of the ships having sailed before the arrival of the answer from Pekin, the English Factory should be charged to communicate it, through Europe, to the Emperor of Russia.

Napoleon felt very much fatigued with his short ride; he had not left his chamber for seven days before; this was the first time that he had re-appeared among us. We remarked an evident change in his countenance.

He sent for me about five o'clock; the Grand Marshal was with him. The Emperor was undressed; he had tried in vain to enjoy a little rest; he thought he was feverish; the sensation proceeded from extreme lassitude. The Emperor had a fire lighted, but would not have candles in his room. We passed away the time in desultory conversation in the dark till eight o'clock, when the Emperor sent us to dinner.

In the course of the day, the conversation had turned on the similarity of the two great revolutions of England and France. "There are many "points, both of resemblance and difference, be-"tween these two great events," said the Emperor; "they afford inexhaustible subjects for "reflection." He then made some very curious and remarkable observations. I shall here note

down his remarks on this occasion, as well as at other intervals during the day.

" Both in France and England the storm ga-
" thered during the two feeble and indolent reigns
" of James I. and Louis XV., and burst over
" the heads of the unfortunate Charles I. and
" Louis XVI.

" Both these Sovereigns fell victims: both
" perished on the scaffold, and their families were
" proscribed and banished.

" Both monarchies became republics, and dur-
" ing that period, both nations plunged into every
" excess which can degrade the human heart and
" understanding. They were disgraced by scenes
" of madness, blood, and outrage. Every tie of
" humanity was broken, and every principle over-
" turned.

" Both in England and France, at this period,
" two men vigorously stemmed the torrent, and
" reigned with splendour. After these, the two
" hereditary families were restored; but both
" pursued an erroneous course. They committed
" faults; a fresh storm suddenly burst forth in
" both countries, and expelled the two restored
" dynasties, without their being able to offer the
" least resistance to the adversaries who over-
" threw them.

" In this singular parallel, Napoleon appears
" to have been in France at once the Cromwell
" and the William III. of England. But as every

" comparison with Cromwell is in some degree " odious, I must add, that if these two celebrated " men coincided in one single circumstance of " their lives; it was scarce possible for two " beings to differ more in every other point.

" Cromwell appeared on the theatre of the " world at the age of maturity. He attained " supreme rank only by dint of address, dupli- " city, and hypocrisy.

" Napoleon distinguished himself at the very " dawn of manhood, and his first steps were " attended by the purest glory.

" Cromwell attained supreme power, opposed " and hated by all parties, and by affixing an " everlasting stain on the English revolution.

" Napoleon, on the contrary, ascended the " throne by obliterating the stains of the French " revolution, and through the concurrence of all " parties, who in turns sought to gain him as " their chief.

" All the glory of Cromwell was bought by " English blood; his triumphs were all so many " causes of national mourning; but Napoleon's " victories were gained over the foreign foe, and " they filled the French nation with transport.

" Finally the death of Cromwell was a source " of joy to all England: the event was regarded " as a public deliverance. The same cannot ex- " actly be said of Napoleon's fall.

" In England the revolution was the rising of the

" whole nation against the King. The King had " violated the laws, and usurped absolute power; " and the nation wished to resume her rights.

" In France, the revolution was the rising of " one portion of the nation against another; that " of the third estate against the nobility; it was " the re-action of the Gauls against the Franks. " The King was attacked not so much in his cha- " racter of monarch as in his quality of chief of " the feudal system. He was not reproached " with having violated the laws; but the nation " wished to emancipate and reconstitute itself.

" In England, if Charles I. had yielded volun- " tarily, if he had possessed the moderate and " undecided character of Louis XVI. he would " have survived.

" In France on the contrary, if Louis XVI. had " openly resisted, if he had had the courage, " activity, and ardour of Charles I. he would " have triumphed.

" During the whole conflict Charles I. isolated " in his kingdom, was surrounded only by par- " tizans and friends, and was never connected " with any constitutional branch of his subjects.

" Louis XVI. was supported by a regular army, " by foreign aid, and two constitutional portions " of the nation: the nobility and the clergy. Be- " sides there remained to Louis XVI. a second " decisive resolution which Charles I. had it not " in his power to adopt, namely, that of ceasing

" to be a *feudal Chief*, in order to become a *na-*
" *tional Chief*. Unfortunately he could not decide
" on either the one or the other.

" Charles I. therefore perished because he re-
" sisted, and Louis XVI. because he did not
" resist. The one had a perfect conviction of the
" privileges of his prerogative; but it is doubtful
" whether the other had any such conviction;
" any more than he felt the necessity of exercising
" its privileges.

" In England, the death of Charles I. was the
" result of the artful and atrocious ambition of a
" single man.

" In France, it was the work of the blind mul-
" titude, of a disorderly popular assembly.

" In England, the representatives of the people
" evinced a slight shade of decorum, by abstain-
" ing from being the judges and actors in the
" murder which they decreed; they appointed
" a tribunal to try the King.

" In France, the representatives of the people
" presumed to be at once accusers, judges, and
" executioners.

" In England, the affair was managed by an
" invisible hand: it assumed an appearance of
" reflection and calmness. In France, it was
" managed by the multitude, whose fury was
" without bounds.

" In England, the death of the King gave birth
" to the Republic. In France, on the contrary,

" the birth of the Republic caused the death of " the King.

" In England, the political explosion was pro- " duced by the efforts of the most ardent reli- " gious fanaticism. In France, it was brought " about amidst the acclamations of cynical im- " piety. Each according to different ages and " manners.

" The English Revolution was ushered in by " the excesses of the gloomy school of Calvin. " The loose doctrines of the modern school con- " jured up the storm in France.

" In England, the Revolution was mingled with " civil war. In France, it was attended by fo- " reign war; and to the efforts and opposition of " foreigners the French may justly attribute their " excesses. The English can advance no such " excuse for theirs.

" In England, the army proved itself capable " of every act of outrage and fury; it was the " scourge of the citizens.

" In France, on the contrary, we owed every " benefit to the army. Its triumphs abroad either " diminished, or caused us to forget our horrors " at home. The army secured independence and " glory to France.

" In England, the restoration was the work of " the English people, who hailed the event with " the most lively enthusiasm. The nation escaped " slavery, and seemed to have recovered free-

"dom . . . . . It was not precisely thus in "France.

"In England, a son-in-law hurled his father- "in-law from the throne. He was supported by "all Europe; and the memory of the act is re- "vered and imperishable.

"In France, on the contrary, the chosen sove- "reign of the people, who had reigned for the "space of fifteen years with the assent of his "subjects and foreigners, re-appeared on the "theatre of the world, to seize a sceptre which "he regarded as his own. Europe rose in a mass, "and outlawed him. 1,100,000 men marched "against him; he surrendered; he was thrown "into captivity, and now efforts are made to "tarnish the lustre of his memory!"

Explanation with Dr. O'Meara.—The Consulate.—Opinion of the Emigrants respecting the Consul.—The Emperor's intentions with regard to emigrant property.—Concurrence of happy circumstances in the Emperor's career.—Opinion of the Italians respecting Napoleon.—His Coronation by the Pope.—Effect of the conferences at Tilsit.—The Spanish Bourbons.—Arrival of the famous wooden palace.

6th.—The Emperor sent for me at nine o'clock. He was vexed by the conduct of the new Governor, and particularly by the intention that seemed to be entertained of violating his last humble sanctuary. He preferred death to this

last outrage; and he was resolved to run every risk in opposing it. A catastrophe seemed inevitable. The Emperor indeed concluded that there was a determination to bring it about, and that only some plausible pretence was sought for. He was resolved not to evade it. "I am "prepared for every thing," said he, in a certain moment of confidence. "They will kill me, it is "certain. . . . ."

The Emperor sent for Dr. O'Meara, in order that he might learn his personal opinion. He desired me to express to him in English, that he had hitherto no cause of complaint against him: on the contrary, that he considered him to be an honest man, and as a proof of this he would rely implicitly on the answers he might receive to the questions he was about to put to him. It was necessary, he said, to come to an understanding. Was he to consider him as his own physician personally, or merely as a prison doctor, appointed by the English Government? Was he his confessor or his inspector? Had he made reports respecting him, or was it his intention so to do if called upon? In the one case the Emperor said he would readily continue to receive his attendance, and was grateful for the services he had already received; in the other case he thanked him and begged him to discontinue his visits.

The Doctor replied with great firmness, and

in a tone of feeling. He said that his appointment was entirely professional, and had no connection with politics; he conceived himself to be the Emperor's personal medical attendant, and was a stranger to every other consideration; that he had made no report respecting the Emperor, and that none had yet been demanded of him; that he could not imagine any instance in which he might be induced to make a report, except in case of serious illness, when it might be necessary to call in the aid of other professional men.

About three o'clock the Emperor went into the garden with the intention of mounting his horse. He had been dictating for a considerable time to General Gourgaud, and had nearly got through the events of 1815. He was very well satisfied with the result of his labour.

I recommended to him next to commence the history of the Consulate; that brilliant period in which a nation in a state of dissolution, was in a few moments magically re-composed, with respect to its laws, religion, morality, true principles and honest prejudices; and all this amidst the universal applause and admiration of astonished Europe.

I was in England at this time. I told the Emperor that the mass of the emigrants were forcibly struck by these acts. The recal of the priests and of the emigrants were received as blessings; and the great majority profited by them.

The Emperor asked me, whether we had not been shocked at the word amnesty?—"No," I replied, "we knew all the difficulties which the "First Consul had experienced in this respect. "We knew that all the advantages of the mea- "sure were due to him, that he alone was our "protector, and that every evil originated with "those with whom he had been obliged to con- "tend in our favour. Subsequently, added I, "on our return to France, we found indeed that "the Consul might have treated us better with "respect to our property, and this without much "difficulty, merely by assuming a silent and "passive attitude. This we conceived would have "sufficed in every case to have produced ami- "cable arrangements between the old proprietors "and the purchasers."

"Doubtless, I might have done so," said the Emperor, "but could I have trusted sufficiently "to the emigrants?—Answer me this question."

"Sire," I replied, "now that I have more "knowledge of public affairs, and take a more "comprehensive view of things, I can readily "conceive that policy required you to act as you "did. Recent circumstances have proved how "wise was the course you pursued. It would "have been bad policy thus to disinterest the "nation. The question of national property is "one of the first bulwarks of public spirit and of "the national party."

"You are right," observed the Emperor; "but "I might nevertheless have granted all that was "wished. For a moment I cherished the idea of "doing so, and I committed a fault in not ful- "filling this idea. I intended to form a mass or "a *syndicate* of all the unsold property of the emi- "grants, and on their return, to distribute it in "certain proportions among them. But when "I came to grant property to individuals, I soon "found that I was creating too many wealthy men, "and that they repaid my favours with insolence. "Those who by dint of petitioning and cringing "had perhaps obtained an annual income of 50 "or 100,000 crowns, no longer lifted their hats "to me; and far from evincing the least gratitude, "they had the impertinence to pretend that they "had paid in an underhand way for the favours "they enjoyed. This was the conduct of the "whole Faubourg Saint-Germain. I restored the "fortunes of these people, and they still remained "no less hostile and anti-national. Then, in "spite of the act of amnesty, I prohibited the "restitution of the unsold forests, whenever they "should exceed a certain value. This was doubt- "less an act of injustice, according to the letter "of the law; but policy imperiously called for it: "the fault was in the drawing up of the law, and "the improvidence which dictated it. This re- "action on my part, counteracted all the good "effect of the recal of the emigrants, and robbed

" me of the attachment of all the great families. " I might have guarded against this evil, or I " might have neutralized its effects by my syndi- " cate. For one great family alienated, I might " have secured the attachment of a hundred pro- " vincial nobles, and thus I should in reality have " strictly conformed with justice, which required " that the emigrants who had all run the same " risk, embarked their fortunes in common on " board the same ship, suffered the same wreck, " and incurred the same punishment, should all " receive the same indemnification. Here I com- " mitted an error, said the Emperor, which was " the more unpardonable, as I entertained an idea " of the plan which I have just mentioned. But " I stood alone, and was surrounded by opposition " and difficulty. All parties were hostile to the " emigrants: and meanwhile I was pressed by " important affairs, time was running on, and I " was compelled to direct my attention to other " matters.

" Even so late as my return from Elba," continued the Emperor, " I was on the point of exe- " cuting a project of the same sort. If I had had " time, I should have taken into consideration the " care of the poor emigrants from the provinces " who were neglected by the court. It is rather " a singular circumstance that this idea was sug- " gested to me by an old ex-minister of Louis " XVI., whose services had been but ill requited

" by the Princes, and who pointed out to me " various plans by which evils of the same kind " might have been advantageously remedied."

" Sire," observed I, " the reasonable portion " of the emigrants well knew that the few gene- " rous and liberal ideas that were cherished with " respect to them, originated only with you; " they were aware that all who surrounded you " wished for their destruction. They knew that " the very idea of nobility was hateful to them; " and they gave you credit for not being of that " opinion. Would you believe it, their self-love " occasionally found a certain degree of consola- " tion in the reflection that you were one of their " own class."

The Emperor then asked me what was the opinion of the emigrants respecting his birth, the incidents of his life, &c. I replied, that we beheld him for the first time at the head of the army of Italy; and that we were totally ignorant of all his previous history. We never could pronounce his surname *Bonaparte*. At this the Emperor laughed.

The turn of our conversation then led him to observe, that he had frequently reflected on the singular concurrence of secondary circumstances which had brought about his wonderful career.

1st, " If," said he, " my father, who died be- " fore he attained the age of forty, had survived " some time longer, he would have been ap-

" pointed deputy from the Corsican nobility to " the Constituent Assembly. He was much at- " tached to the nobility and the aristocracy; on " the other hand, he was a warm partisan of ge- " nerous and liberal ideas. He would, therefore, " either have been entirely on the right side, or " at least in the minority of the nobility. At any " rate, whatever might have been my own per- " sonal opinions, I should have followed my fa- " ther's footsteps, and thus my career would have " been entirely deranged and lost.

2dly, " If I had been older at the time of the " revolution, I should perhaps myself have been " appointed deputy. Being of an enthusiastic " disposition, I should infallibly have adopted " some opinion, and ardently followed it up. " But at all events I should have shut myself out " from the military service, and thus again my " career would have been changed.

3dly, " Had my family been better known, " more wealthy or more distinguished, my rank " of nobility, even though I had followed the " course of the revolution, would have annulled " and proscribed me. I could never have ob- " tained confidence; I could never have com- " manded an army; or if I had attained such a " command, I could not have ventured to do all " that I did. Had my family circumstances been " different from what they really were, I could " not, with all my success, have followed the bent

" of my liberal ideas with regard to the priests " and nobles, and I should never have arrived at " the head of the Government.

4thly, " The number of my sisters and bro- " thers is also a circumstance which proved of " great use to me, by multiplying my connections " and means of influence.

5thly, " My marriage with Madame de Beau- " harnois placed me on a point of contact with a " party, whose aid was necessary in my system " of amalgamations, which was one of the chief " principles of my government, and that by which " it was especially characterized. But for my " wife I should not have obtained any natural " connection with this party.

6thly, " Even my foreign origin, though in " France an endeavour was made to raise an " outcry against it, was not unattended by ad- " vantage. The Italians regarded me as their " countryman, and this circumstance greatly " facilitated my success in Italy. This success " being once obtained, inquiries were set on foot " respecting our family history, which had long " been buried in obscurity. My family was ac- " knowledged by the Italians to have acted a " distinguished part in the events of their coun- " try. It was viewed by them as an Italian fa- " mily. Thus when the question of my sister " Pauline's marriage with the Prince Borghere

" was agitated, there was but one voice in Rome " and Tuscany, among the members of that fa- " mily and their adherents: ' Well,' said they, " ' the union is among ourselves; they are our " own connections.'" Subsequently, when it was proposed that the Emperor should be crowned by the Pope at Paris, great obstacles were, as circumstances have since proved, thrown in the way of that important event. The Austrian party in the conclave, violently opposed the measure; but the Italian party decided in its favour, by adding to political considerations a little consideration of national self-love. " We " are placing," said they, " an Italian family on " the throne, to govern these barbarians: we " shall thus be revenged on the Gauls."

These remarks naturally led the Emperor to speak of the Pope, who he said was rather favourably disposed towards him. The Pope did not accuse Napoleon of having ordered his removal to France. He was very indignant at reading in certain publications, that the Emperor had treated him with disrespect. He had received at Fontainbleau every mark of consideration that he could wish. When he learned the Emperor's return from Elba to France, he said to Lucien, in a tone expressive of his confidence and impartiality, *e sbarcato, e arrivato,* (he has landed, he has arrived.) He afterwards said: " You are

" going to Paris; make my peace with him. I " am in Rome: no cause of difference shall rise " up between us."

" It is certain," said the Emperor, " that Rome " will afford a natural and favourable asylum for " my family: there they may find themselves at " home. Finally," added he, smiling, " even " my name, Napoleon, which in Italy is uncom- " mon, poetic, and sonorous, contributed its " share in the great circumstances of my life."

I mentioned to the Emperor, what I had already remarked, namely, that the great mass of the emigrants were far from being unjust to him. The sensible part of the old aristocracy disliked him, it is true, but only because he proved an obstacle to their views. They knew how to appreciate his achievements and his talents, which they admired in spite of their inclination. Even the fanatics acknowledged that he had but one fault: *Why is he not legitimate?* they were frequently heard to say. Austerlitz staggered us, though it did not subdue us; but Tilsit prostrated every thing, " Your Majesty," said I, " might your- " self have judged of this, and have enjoyed on " your return, the unanimity of homage, accla- " mation, and good wishes."

" That is to say," observed the Emperor smiling, " that if, at that time, I could or would have " indulged in repose and pleasure; if I had re- " signed myself to indolence, if every thing had

" resumed its old course, you would have adored " me? But if such had been my taste and incli- " nation, and certainly nothing was more oppo- " site to my natural disposition, circumstances " would not have permitted me to act as I " pleased."

The Emperor then adverted to the numerous difficulties by which he had been incessantly surrounded and controlled; and, alluding to the Spanish war, he said, "That unlucky war ruined " me; it divided my forces, obliged me to multi- " ply my efforts, and caused my principles to be " assailed; and yet it was impossible to leave " the Peninsula a prey to the machinations of the " English, the intrigues, the hopes, and the pre- " tentions of the Bourbons. Besides, the Spa- " nish Bourbons were not calculated to inspire " much fear. Nationally they were foreign to us, " and we to them. At the castle of Marrach, " and at Bayonne, I have known Charles IV. " and the Queen unable to distinguish between " Madame de Montmorency and Madame de " B . . . . . ; the latter name was indeed ren- " dered more familiar to them through the me- " dium of the Gazettes and public documents. " The Empress Josephine, who had the most " delicate tact on matters of this sort, never " ceased alluding to the circumstance. The Spa- " nish Royal Family implored me to adopt a " daughter, and to create her a Princess of the

" Austurias. They pointed out Mademoiselle de " Tascher, afterwards Duchess of Aremberg; but " I had personal reasons for objecting to this " choice. For a moment I decided on Mada- " moiselle de la Rochefoucault, afterwards Prin- " cess Aldobrandini; but I wanted some one " sincerely devoted to my interests, a true French- " woman, possessing talent and information, and " I could not fix on one endowed with all the " qualities I wished for."

The Emperor dined with us to-day; it was long since we had enjoyed his company. After dinner he read to us Florian's novel of Claudine, and some extracts from Paul and Virginia, a work which he says he is very fond of, on account of early recollections.

The Adamant transport has arrived. This vessel a short time ago missed the island. She formed part of a convoy, the remainder of which arrived nearly a month back. These ships brought the famous wooden palace, accounts of which have filled all the newspapers in England, and probably in Europe; and also the articles of furniture, of which the papers have also made a great parade. The wooden palace proved to be nothing more than a number of rough planks, which no one knows how to put together at St. Helena, and which it would require several years to fit up. The splendour of the other articles was of course well suited to our situation. Ostentation, pomp,

and luxury, were for Europe; truth and wretchedness for St. Helena.

The Iliad and Homer.

7th.—The Governor came to Longwood about four o'clock, and went over the establishment without asking to see any one. His ill-humour was visibly increased, his manners had become fierce and brutal.

About five o'clock the Emperor sent for me; the Grand Marshal had been with him for some time. When he went away, the Emperor began to talk with me upon literature; and we reviewed almost every epic poem, ancient and modern. When conversing on the Iliad, he took up an edition of Homer, and read aloud several cantos. The Emperor greatly admired the Iliad. "It "was," he said, "like the Books of Moses, the "token and the pledge of the age in which it "was produced. Homer, in his epic poem, has "proved himself a poet, an orator, an historian, "a legislator, a geographer, and a theologist: "He may be justly called the encyclopedist of "the period in which he flourished."

The Emperor considered Homer inimitable. Father Hardouin had ventured to question the authenticity of the Iliad, and to attribute that sacred monument of antiquity to a monk of the tenth century. This, the Emperor said, was perfect absurdity. He added, that he had never

been so struck with the beauties of the Iliad as at that very moment; and that the sensations with which it then inspired him, fully convinced him of the justice of the universal approbation bestowed on it. One thing which particularly struck him, he observed, was the combination of rudeness of manners with refinement of ideas. Heroes were described killing animals for their food, cooking their meat with their own hands, and yet delivering speeches distinguished for singular eloquence, and denoting a high degree of civilization.

The Emperor desired me to stay and dine with him. "Though," said he, "you would probably "fare better at the table of the household; you "will be starved with me." "Sire," I replied, "I know you are but ill provided; but I prefer "privation shared with you to luxury enjoyed "elsewhere."

During the day, the Emperor was ill with the headache, of which some individuals of his suite also complained. I regretted that he was unable to go out, for the weather was very fine. After dinner, the Emperor summoned the whole of his suite into his own chamber, and we remained with him until ten o'clock.

8th.—About five o'clock the Emperor took an airing in the calash. On his return he was visited by several English gentlemen, of whom, according to custom, he asked a multitude of ques-

tions. These gentlemen had arrived by the *Cornwall:* they were proceeding to China and were expected again to touch at St. Helena on their passage back to Europe.

After dinner one of the suite remarked to the Emperor that his feelings had been painfully excited in the morning when writing out a fair copy of his dictation on the battle of Waterloo, to find that the result had depended, as it were, on a hair-breadth. The Emperor made no reply, but turning to Emanuel said, in a tone expressing deep emotion: "*My Son* (which was his usual "mode of addressing him) go and get Iphigenia "in Aulis, it will be a more pleasing subject." He then read to us that beautiful drama, which he admires exceedingly.

Characteristic remarks made by the Emperor.

9.—I went to dine at Briars with my son and General Gourgaud; and we staid to a little ball. I met the Admiral there, and I never found him in a more agreeable humour. This was the first time I had seen him since the adventure of Noverraz; I was aware how much the circumstance had wounded him. He was on the point of departing for Europe, and I knew the Emperor's sentiments. I was twenty times almost tempted freely to enter upon the subject, and thus to be the means of reconciling him with Napoleon.

Truth, justice, and our own interest, demanded this; but I was deterred by considerations that were doubtless trivial. How often have I blamed myself since! . . . . But I had not received this delicate mission, and I could not venture to take it upon myself. The Admiral might have given publicity to the affair, and perhaps have represented it in a way that would have highly displeased the Emperor, and possibly have exposed him to fresh vexations. On this subject I will note down the following remarks which were made by the Emperor, and which characterize him too well to be omitted.

He was one day describing to me evils attendant on weakness and credulity in a sovereign; the intrigues which they engender in the interior of the palace; and the fickleness which they create. He demonstrated very clearly that a sovereign distinguished for these qualities must inevitably become the dupe of courtiers and the victim of calumny. "Of this I will give you a "proof," said he, "You yourself who have sacri- "ficed every thing to follow me; you who have "evinced such noble and affecting devotedness, "how do you think your conduct is viewed? . . . . "How do you imagine your character is esti- "mated? . . . You are regarded merely as one "of the old nobility, an emigrant, an agent of "the Bourbons, maintaining correspondence with "the English. It is said that you concurred in

" betraying me over to them, and that you fol-
" lowed me hither only to be a spy upon me and
" to sell me to my enemies. The aversion and
" animosity which you evince towards the Go-
" vernor, are affirmed to be only false appearances
" agreed upon between you for the purpose of dis-
" guising your treachery." When I smiled at the lively turn of his fancy, and the volubility with which he expressed himself: " You may laugh," resumed he; " but I assure you I am not invent-
" ing, I am merely echoing the reports that have
" reached my ears . . . . . And can you imagine," continued he, " that a silly, feeble, and credulous
" being, would not be influenced by such stories
" and contrivances? My dear Las Cases, if I had
" not been superior to the majority of legitimates,
" I might already have been deprived of your
" services here, and your upright heart would
" perhaps have been doomed to suffer the cruel
" stings of ingratitude." He concluded by saying: " how wretched is the lot of man! He is
" the same every where: on the summit of a rock
" or within the walls of a palace! Man is always
" man! . . ."

Remarks on Hoche and various other Generals.

10th.—The weather was very bad, and the Emperor finding it impossible to go out, walked up and down in the dining-room. He afterwards

ordered a fire to be kindled in the drawing-room, and sat down to play at chess with the Grand Marshal. After dinner he read to us the history of Joseph from the Bible, and the Andromache of Racine.

The Bengal fleet arrived yesterday evening. The Countess of Loudon and Moira, the wife of the Governor-general of India, was among the passengers.

To-day, in the course of conversation, the name of Hoche having been mentioned, some one observed, that at a very early age he had inspired great hope. "And what is still better," said the Emperor, "you may add, that he fulfilled that "hope." Hoche and Napoleon had seen each other, and had conversed twice or thrice together. Hoche esteemed him even to admiration. Napoleon did not hesitate to say, that he possessed over Hoche the advantages of extensive information and the principles of a good education. There was, he said, in other respects a great difference between them. "Hoche," said he, "endea-"voured to raise a party for himself, and gained "only servile adherents. For my part, I had "created for myself an immense number of par-"tisans, without in any way seeking popularity. "Hoche possessed a hostile provoking kind of "ambition; he was the sort of man who could "conceive the idea of coming from Strasburg, "with 25,000 men, to seize the reins of govern-

" ment by force. But my policy was always of " a patient kind, led on by the spirit of the age, " and the circumstances of the moment."

The Emperor added, that Hoche would ultimately either have yielded to him, or must have subdued him, and as he was fond of money and pleasure, he doubted not that he would have yielded to him. Moreau, observed he, in similar circumstances, knew not how to decide. Thus Napoleon attached but little importance to him, and regarded him as totally wanting in ability; without however extending this opinion to his military talent. " But he was a weak man," said the Emperor, " guided by those who sur- " rounded him, and slavishly subject to the con- " trol of his wife: he was a general of the old " monarchy.

" Hoche," continued the Emperor, " died sud- " denly and under singular circumstances; and " as there existed a party who seemed to think " that all crimes belonged to me of right, endea- " vours were made to circulate a report that I had " poisoned him. There was a time when no mis- " chief could happen, that was not imputed to " me; thus when in Paris, I caused Kleber to " be assassinated in Egypt; I blew out Desaix's " brains at Marengo; I strangled and cut the " throats of persons who were confined in pri- " sons; I seized the Pope by the hair of his " head; and a hundred similar absurdities were

" affirmed. However, as I paid not the least atten-
" tion to all this, the fashion passed away, and
" I do not see that my successors have been very
" eager to revive it; and yet if any of the crimes
" imputed to me had had any real existence,
" the documents, the perpetrators, the accom-
" plices, &c. might have been brought forward.

" However, such is the influence of report, that
" these stories, however absurd, were credited
" by the vulgar, and are perhaps still believed by
" a numerous portion of individuals. Happily
" the statements of the historian, who reasons,
" are divested of this pernicious effect."

Then returning to the former topic of conversation, he said, " What a number of great Generals
" arose suddenly during the revolution: Pichegru,
" Kleber, Massena, Marceau, Desaix, Hoche, &c.
" and almost all were originally private soldiers.
" But here the efforts of nature seem to have been
" exhausted; for she has produced nothing since,
" or at least nothing so great. At that period
" every thing was submitted to competition among
" 30,000,000 of men, and nature necessarily as-
" serted her rights; while, subsequently, we were
" again confined within the narrower limits of
" order and the forms of society. I was even ac-
" cused of having surrounded myself, in military
" and civil posts, with men of inferior ability, the
" better to display my own superiority. But
" now, when the competition will not certainly

" be renewed, it remains for those who are in " power to make a better selection. We shall " see what they will do.

" Another circumstance no less remarkable, was " the extreme youth of some of these Generals, " who seemed to have started ready made from " the hands of nature. Their characters were " perfectly suited to the circumstances in which " they were placed, with the exception of Hoche, " whose morals were by no means pure. The " others had no object in view save *glory* and " *patriotism,* which formed their whole circle of " rotation. They were men after the antique " model.

" Desaix was surnamed by the Arabs the *Just* " *Sultan;* at the funeral of Marceau, the Austrians " observed an armistice, on account of the re- " spect they entertained for him; and young " Duphot was the emblem of perfect virtue.

" But the same commendations cannot be be- " stowed on those who were farther advanced in " life; for they belonged in some measure to the " era that had just passed away. Massena, Au- " gereau, Brune, and many others, were merely " intrepid depredators. Massena was, moreover, " distinguished for the most sordid avarice. It " was asserted, that I played him a trick which " might have proved a hanging matter; that " being one day indignant at his depradations, " I drew on his banker for 2 or 3,000,000. Great

" embarrassment ensued; for my name was not
" without its due weight. The banker wrote to
" intimate that he could not pay the sum without
" the authority of Massena. On the other hand,
" he was urged to pay it without hesitation, as
" Massena, if he were wronged, could appeal to
" the courts of law for justice. Massena however
" resorted to no legal steps, and consoled himself
" as well as he could for the payment of the money.

" O . . . . ., Murat, and Ney, were com-
" mon place kind of Generals, having no recom-
" mendation save personal courage.

" Moncey was an honest man; Macdonald was
" distinguished for firm loyalty; I was deceived
" with respect to the character of B . . . . .

" S . . . . also had his faults as well as his
" merits. The whole of his campaign of the
" south of France was admirably conducted. It
" will scarcely be credited that this man, whose
" deportment and manners denoted a lofty cha-
" racter, was the slave of his wife. When I
" learned at Dresden our defeat at Vittoria, and
" the loss of all Spain through the mismanage-
" ment of poor Joseph, whose plans and measures
" were not suited to the present age, and seemed
" rather to belong to a Soubise than to me, I
" looked about for some one capable of repairing
" these disasters, and I cast my eyes on S . . . .
" who was near me. He said he was ready to
" undertake what I wished; but entreated that I

" would speak to his wife, by whom, he said, he " expected to be reproached. I desired him to " send her to me. She assumed an air of hos- " tility, and decidedly told me that her husband " should certainly not return to Spain; that he " had already performed important services, and " was now entitled to a little repose. ' Madam,' " said I to her, ' I did not send for you with the " ' view of enduring your scolding. I am not your " ' husband; and if I were I should not be the " ' more inclined to bear with you.' These few " words confounded her; she became as pliant " as a glove, turned quite obsequious, and was " only eager to obtain a few conditions. To " these, however, I by no means acceded, and " merely contented myself with congratulating " her on her willingness to listen to reason. In " critical circumstances, Madam, said I, it is a " wife's duty to endeavour to smooth difficulties; " go home to your husband, and do not torment " him by your opposition."

Ridiculous Invitation sent by Sir Hudson Lowe.

11th.—At four o'clock I attended the Emperor. The Grand Marshal entered the room, and gave him a note. The Emperor, after glancing it over, returned it, shrugging up his shoulders and saying: " This is too absurd! There is no answer; " give it to Las Cases."

Will it be credited? This was a note from the Governor to the Grand Marshal, inviting *General Bonaparte* to dine at Plantation House to meet Lady Loudon, the wife of Lord Moira. I blushed at the indecorum. Could any thing be more ridiculous. Sir Hudson Lowe doubtless thought the thing perfectly natural; and yet he had resided for a long time at the head-quarters of armies on the Continent; and took part in the diplomatic transactions of the time!! . .

Mr. Skelton, the Deputy-Governor of the island, who was about to depart for Europe, came accompanied by his wife, to take leave of the Emperor. They staid to dine at Longwood.

This worthy family, whom, contrary to our inclination, we had removed from Longwood, whose prospects we had overthrown by the suppression of the post of Deputy-Governor on our arrival—this excellent family, to whom we had been the occasion of real personal injury, is, however, the only one in the island from whom we have experienced invariable respect and politeness. We therefore bade them farewell with sincere wishes for their welfare. We shall always remember them with sentiments of the deepest interest.

Napoleon at the Institute.—At the Council of State.—The Civil Code.—Message to Lord St. Vincent.—On the interior of Africa.—The Marine Department.—Decrès.

The Emperor while walking in the garden and discoursing on various subjects, spoke of the Institute, the manner in which it was composed, the spirit of its members, &c. When he took his place in the Institute on his return from the army of Italy, he said he might consider himself as the tenth member in his class, which consisted of about fifty.

Lagrange, Laplace, and Monge, were at the head of this class. It was rather a remarkable circumstance and one which attracted considerable notice at the time, to see the young General of the army of Italy take his place in the Institute, and publicly discuss profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues. He was then called the *Geometrician* of battles, and the *Mechanician* of victory.

On becoming first Consul, Napoleon caused no less sensation in the Council of State. He constantly presided at the sittings for drawing up the civil code. "Tronchet," he said, "was the soul "of this code, and he, Napoleon, was its demon-"strator." Tronchet was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding; but he could not descend to developments. He spoke badly and could not defend what he proposed.

" The whole Council," said the Emperor, " at " first opposed his suggestions;" but Napoleon, with his shrewdness and facility of seizing and creating luminous and new relations, arose, and without any other knowledge of the subject than the correct basis furnished by Tronchet, developed his ideas, set aside objections, and brought every one over to his opinions.

The Minutes of the Council of State have transmitted to us the extempore speeches of the First Consul on most of the articles of the civil code. At every line we are struck with the correctness of his observations, the depth of his views, and in particular the liberality of his sentiments.

Thus in spite of the opposition that was set up to it, we are indebted to him for that article of the Code, which enacts that *every individual born in France is a Frenchman.* " I should like to " know," said he, " what inconvenience can pos- " sibly arise from acknowledging every man born " in France to be a Frenchman? The extension " of the French civil laws can only be attended " by advantageous consequences; thus instead " of ordaining that individuals born in France of " a foreign father, shall obtain civil privileges " only when they declare themselves willing to " enjoy them, it may be decreed that they will " be deprived of those privileges only when they " formally renounce them.

" If individuals born in France of a foreign " father were not to be considered as enjoying " the full privileges of Frenchmen, we cannot " subject to the conscription and other public " duties, the sons of those foreigners who have " married in France through the events of the " war.

" I am of opinion that the question should be " considered only with reference to the interests " of France. Though individuals born in France " possess no property, they are at least animated " by French spirit, and they follow French customs. " They cherish that attachment which every one " naturally feels for the country that gave him " birth ; finally, they help to maintain the public " burthens."

The First Consul distinguished himself no less by his support of the article which *preserves the privileges of Frenchmen to children born of Frenchmen settled in foreign countries*, and this law he extended in spite of powerful opposition. " The " French people," said he, " who are a numerous " and industrious people, are scattered over every " part of the world ; and in course of time they " will be scattered about in still greater numbers. " But the French visit foreign countries only to " make their fortunes. The acts by which they " seem momentarily to attach themselves to fo- " reign governments, have, for their object, only " to obtain the protection necessary for their

" various speculations. If they should intend to " return to France after realizing a fortune, would " it be proper to exclude them?

" If it should happen that a country in the pos- " session of France were to be invaded by the " enemy, and afterwards ceded to him by a " treaty, would it be just to say to those of the " inhabitants who might come to settle on the " territory of the republic, that they had forfeited " their rights as Frenchmen, for not having quit- " ted their former country at the moment it was " ceded; and because they had sworn temporary " allegiance to a new Sovereign, in order to gain " time to dispose of their property and transfer " their wealth to France?"

In another debate on the decease of soldiers, some difficulties having arisen relative to those who might die in a foreign country, the First Consul exclaimed with vivacity;—" the soldier " is never abroad when he is under the national " banner. The spot where the standard of France " is unfurled becomes French ground!"

On the subject of divorce, the First Consul was for the adoption of the principle, and spoke at great length on the ground of incompatiblity, which it was attempted to repel.

" It is pretended," said he, " that divorce is " contrary to the interests of women and children, " and to the spirit of families; but nothing is " more at variance with the interests of married

" persons, when their humours are incompatible,
" than to reduce them to the alternative of either
" living together, or of separating with publicity.
" Nothing is more opposite to domestic happi-
" ness than a divided family. Separation had
" formerly, with regard to the wife, the husband,
" and the children, nearly the same effect as di-
" vorce, and yet it was not so frequent as di-
" vorce now is. It was only attended with this
" additional inconvenience, that a woman of bad
" character might continue to dishonour her hus-
" band's name because she was permitted to re-
" tain it."

When opposing the drawing up of an article to specify the causes for which divorce would be admissible, he said; " But is it not a great mis-
" fortune to be compelled to expose these causes,
" and reveal even the most minute and private
" family details?

" Besides, will these causes, even in the event
" of their real existence, be always sufficient to
" obtain divorce? That of adultery, for instance,
" can only be successfully maintained by proofs,
" which it is always very difficult, and some-
" times even impossible to produce. Yet the
" husband, who should not be able to bring for-
" ward these proofs, would be compelled to live
" with a woman he abhors and despises, and who
" introduces illegitimate children into his family.
" His only resource would be separation from

" bed and board; but this would not shield his " name from dishonour."

Resuming the support of the principle of divorce, and opposing certain restrictions, he continued; " Marriage is not always, as is supposed, " the result of affection. A young female con- " sents to marry for the sake of conforming to " the fashion, and obtaining independence and " an establishment of her own. She accepts a " husband of a disproportionate age, and whose " tastes and habits do not accord with hers. The " law then should provide for her a resource " against the moment when, the illusion having " ceased, she finds that she is united in ill-assorted " bonds, and that her expectations have been " deceived.

" Marriage takes its form from the manners, " customs, and religion, of every people. Thus " its forms are not everywhere alike. In some " countries, wives and concubines live under the " same roof; and slaves are treated like children: " the organization of families is therefore not de- " duced from the law of nature. The marriages " of the Romans were not like those of the " French.

" The precautions established by law for pre- " venting persons from contracting unthinkingly " at the age of fifteen or eighteen an engagement " which extends to the whole of their lives, are " certainly wise. But are they sufficient?

" That after ten years past in wedlock, divorce " should not be admitted but for very weighty " reasons, is also a proper regulation. Since, " however, marriages contracted in early youth " are rarely the choice of the parties themselves, " but are brought about by their families for in- " terested views, it is proper that, if the parties " themselves perceive that they are not formed " for one another, they should be enabled to dis- " solve a union on which they had no opportunity " of reflecting. The facility thus afforded them, " however, should not tend to favour either levity " or passion. It should be surrounded by every " precaution, and every form calculated to pre- " vent its abuse. The parties, for example, might " be heard by a secret family council, held under " the presidency of the magistrate. In addition " to this, it might, if thought necessary, be de- " termined that a woman should only once be " allowed to procure divorce, and that she should " not be suffered to re-marry in less than five " years after, lest the idea of a second marriage " should induce her to dissolve the first. That " after married persons have lived together for " ten years, the dissolution should be rendered " very difficult, &c.

" To grant divorce only on account of adultery " publicly proved, is to proscribe it completely; " for, on the one hand, few cases of adultery can " be proved, and, on the other, there are few men

" shameless enough to expose the infamy of their " wives. Besides, it would be scandalous, and " contrary to the honour of the nation, to reveal " the scenes that pass in some families; it might " be concluded, though erroneously, that they " afford a picture of our French manners."

The first lawyers of the council were of opinion that civil death should carry along with it the dissolution of the civil contract of marriage. The question was warmly discussed. The First Consul, with great animation, opposed it in these terms; " A woman is then to be forbidden, though fully " convinced of her husband's innocence, to follow, " in exile, the man to whom she is most tenderly " united; or, if she should yield to her conviction, " and to her duty, she is to be regarded only as a " concubine! Why deprive an unfortunate married " couple of the right of living together under the " honourable title of lawful husband and wife?

" If the law permit a woman to follow her hus- " band, without allowing her the title of wife, it " permits adultery.

" Society is sufficiently avenged by the sen- " tence of condemnation, when the criminal is " deprived of his property, and torn from his " friends and his connections. Is there any need " to extend the punishment to the wife, and vio- " lently to dissolve a union which identifies her " existence with that of her husband? Would she " not say;—you had better have taken his life,

" I should then have been permitted at least to " cherish his memory; but you ordain that he " shall live, and you will not allow me to console " him in his misery. Alas! how many men have " been led into guilt only through their attach- " ment for their wives! Those therefore who have " caused their misfortunes should at least be per- " mitted to share them. If a woman fulfil this " duty, you esteem her virtue, and yet you are " allowing her no greater indulgence than would " be extended to the infamous wretch who prosti- " tutes herself!" Volumes might be filled with quotations of this sort.

In 1815, after the restoration, as I was conversing with M. Bertrand de Molleville, formerly Minister of the Marine under Louis XVI. a man of great abilities, and who has distinguished himself in more ways than one, he said;—" Your " Bonaparte, your Napoleon, was a very extra- " ordinary man, it must be confessed. How little " did we know him on the other side of the water! " We could not but yield to the conviction of " his victories, and his invasions, it is true; but " Genseric, Attila, and Alaric, were as victorious " as he. Thus he produced on me an impression " of terror rather than of admiration. But since I " have been here, I have taken the trouble to " look over the debates on the civil code, and I " have ever since been imbued with profound vene- " ration for him. But where in the world did he

" collect all his knowledge? . . . I discover " something new every day. Ah! Sir, what a " man you had at the head of your govern- " ment. Really, he was nothing short of a " prodigy! . . . . . "

About 5 o'clock the Emperor received Captain Bowen, of the Salcette frigate, which is to sail to-morrow. He behaved very condescendingly to him. In the course of conversation the name of Lord St. Vincent, who the Captain said was his patron, happened to be mentioned, on which the Emperor remarked; " you will see him on your " return to England, and I commission you to " present my compliments to him, as to a good " sailor, a brave and worthy veteran."

About 7 o'clock the Emperor took a bath. He sent for me, and we conversed for a long time, first on the events of the day, then on literary subjects, and lastly on geography. He expressed his astonishment that we possessed no certain knowledge of the interior of Africa. I told him that I had entertained the idea, some years ago, of presenting to his Minister of Marine, a plan of a journey into the interior of Africa; not a secret and adventurous excursion, but a regular military expedition, in every respect worthy of the age and of the Emperor. The Minister laughed in my face when I first conversed with him on the subject, and looked upon the idea as an absurdity.

My plan was to have entered Africa at once on

the north, south, east, and west, and to have formed a junction in the centre; or if starting only from the east and west, I proposed that the two divisions of the expedition should meet in the centre, separate again and proceed, one to the north, the other to the south. I thought it probable that, after obtaining from the Court of Portugal all the information that could be procured; it would be found that there already existed a communication from east to west, or that at all events very little was wanting to effect it. The state of public feeling at the time, our enthusiasm, our enterprizes, our prodigies, would have rendered it easy to procure 5 or 600 good soldiers, with the requisite number of surgeons, physicians, botanists, chymists, astronomers, and naturalists, all willing to embark in the enterprize, and we should undoubtedly have accomplished something worthy of the age.

The necessary supply of beasts of burthen, small leathern boats for crossing rivers, skins for conveying water through the deserts, and light manageable field-pieces, would have rendered the execution of the enterprize easy and complete.

" There is no doubt," said the Emperor, " but " your idea would have pleased me. I should " have taken it up, submitted it to the consider- " ation of a committee, and brought it to a " result."

He said he very much regretted his not having

had time during his stay in Egypt, to accomplish something of this sort. He possessed troops calculated in every respect to brave the dangers of the desert. He had received presents from the Queen of Darfour, and had sent her some in return. Had he remained longer, he intended to have carried to a great extent our geographical investigations in the northern district of Africa, and that too by the simplest means, merely by placing in each caravan some intelligent officers, for whom he would have procured hostages.

The conversation then turned on the marine department, under the Imperial regime. The Emperor entered very deeply into the subject. He could not say that he was satisfied with Decrés; and he even thought that the confidence he reposed in him, was not altogether irreproachable. The difficulty of finding persons better qualified maintained him in his post; for, after all, the Emperor said Decrés was the best he could find. Ganteaume was merely a sailor, and was destitute of every other talent. Cafarelli, he said, had forfeited his good opinion, because he had been informed that his wife intrigued in political affairs, which he regarded as an unpardonable offence. Missiessi was not a man to be depended on; for his family had been one of those who surrendered up Toulon. The Emperor had, for a moment, cast his eye on Emériau; but on consideration he did not think he possessed

adequate capabilities. He had asked himself whether T . . . . . might not have filled the post; but he decided that he was not qualified for it. He was a good man of business, it is true; but he had plunged very deeply into the affairs of the revolution; and what had confirmed the Emperor in his disapproval of him was, that he had subsequently seen some of his private letters, by which it was evident that he still adhered to his old jacobinical sentiments.

"I had," observed the Emperor, "rendered "the duties of all my ministerial posts so "easy, that almost any one was capable of dis- "charging them, if he possessed only fidelity, "zeal, and activity. I must however except "the office of minister of foreign affairs, in "which it was frequently necessary to exercise "a ready talent for persuasion. In fact," continued he, "in the marine department but little "was required, and Decrès was perhaps, after "all, the best man I could have found. He pos- "sessed authority; and he discharged the busi- "ness of his office scrupulously and honestly. "He was endowed with a good share of under- "standing, but this was evinced only in his con- "versation and private conduct. He never con- "ceived any plan of his own, and was incapable "of executing the ideas of others on a grand "scale; he could walk, but he could never be "made to run, He ought to have passed one-

" half of his time in the sea-ports, or on board " the exercising squadrons. He would have lost " none of my favour by so doing. But as a " courtier he was afraid to quit his portfolio. " This shews how little he knew me. He would " not have been the less protected by removing " from my Court: his absence would have been " a powerful circumstance in his favour."

The Emperor said he very much regretted Latouche-Tréville, whom he regarded as a man of real talent. He was of opinion, that that Admiral would have given a different impulse to affairs. The attack on India, and the invasion of England, would by him have been at least attempted, and perhaps accomplished.

The Emperor blamed himself for having em ployed the pinnaces at Boulogne. He said it would have been better had he employed actual ships at Cherbourg. He was of opinion, that had Villeneuve manifested more vigour at Cape Finistère, the attack might have been rendered practicable. " I had made arrangements for the " arrival of Villeneuve, with considerable art and " calculation, and in defiance of the opinions " and the routine of the naval officers by whom " I was surrounded. Every thing happened as " I had foreseen; when the inactivity of Ville- " neuve ruined all. But," added the Emperor, " Heaven knows what instructions he might have " received from Decrès, or what letters might

" have been privately written to him which never " came to my knowledge; for though I was very " powerful, and was fond of searching into every " thing, yet I am convinced that I was far from " knowing all that was passing around me.

" The Grand Marshal said the other day, that " it used to be remarked in the saloon of the " household, that I was never accessible to any " one after I had an audience with the Minister " of the Marine. The reason was, because he " never had any but bad news to communicate " to me. For my part I gave up every thing " after the disaster of Trafalgar; I could not be " every where, and I had enough to occupy my " attention with the armies of the continent.

" I had long meditated on a decisive expedition " to India; but my plans had been constantly " frustrated. I intended to have fitted out a force " of 16,000 troops, on board ships of the line; " each 74 to have taken 500 troops on board, " which would of course have required thirty- " two ships. I proposed that they should take " in a supply of water for four months; which " supply might have been renewed at the Isle of " France, or in any habitable spot of the desert " of Africa, Brazil, or the Indian Ocean. In case " of need they might have taken in water where- " ever they chose to cast anchor. On reaching " the place of their destination, the troops were " to be put ashore, and the ships were imme-

" diately to depart, making up the number of " their crews by the sacrifice of seven or eight of " the vessels which might be condemned as unser- " viceable; so that an English squadron arriving " from Europe immediately after would have " found no trace of ours.

" As for the army, when abandoned to itself " and placed under the command of a clever and " confidential chief, it would have renewed the " prodigies that were familiar to us, and Europe " would have beheld the conquest of India as she " had already seen the conquest of Egypt."

I knew Decrès well; we had both commenced our career together in the marine. I think he entertained for me all the friendship of which he was susceptible, and I, on my part, was tenderly attached to him. It was an unfortunate passion, as I used to say when I was rallied on the subject, which was frequently the case; for Decrès was very much disliked, and I have often thought that, from some motive or other, he took pleasure in his own unpopularity. At St. Helena, as elsewhere, I found myself almost his only defender. I saw a great deal of him while the Emperor was at the Island of Elba, and he was occasionally favourable to Napoleon. We conversed candidly on the subject, and I have every reason to believe that he observed full and entire confidence with respect to me.

" No sooner had your Majesty returned to the

" Tuileries," said I to the Emperor, " than Decrès " and I ran to embrace each other, exclaiming, " ' He has returned! we have him again!' His " eyes were suffused with tears; I must bear this " testimony to his feelings. ' Well,' said he to " me, in the presence of his wife, ' I am now con- " vinced that I have often done you wrong, and " I owe you reparation; but your old habits and " connexions so naturally brought you in contact " with those who are now about to quit us, that " I doubted not but you would sooner or later " be perfectly reconciled with them, though you " were perhaps often offended at the expression " of my real sentiments.'"—" And did you believe " this, you simpleton?" exclaimed the Emperor, bursting into a fit of laughter. " This was an ex- " cellent piece of courtier-like art; a touch for " La Bruyère. It was really a good idea on the " part of Decrès; for if, during my absence, any " thing offensive to me had chanced to escape " him, he would you see, by this means, have " atoned for it once for all."—" Well, Sire," continued I, " what I have just told you is per- " haps only amusing; but what I will now com- " municate is of a more important nature:— " During the crisis of 1814, before the taking " of Paris, Decrès was sounded in a very artful " way as to his inclination to conspire against " your Majesty, and he honestly repelled the sug- " gestion. Decrès was easily and often roused to

" discontent; and he possessed a certain air of " authority in his language and manners, which " rendered him a useful acquisition to any party " he might espouse. He happened, at the un- " happy period I have just mentioned, to visit " a person of celebrity; the hero of the machina- " tions of the day. The latter advanced to Decrès, " and drawing him aside to the fire-place, took " up a book, saying;—' I have just now been " reading something that struck me forcibly,— " you shall hear it. Montesquieu, in such and " such a chapter and page, says;—When the " Prince rises above the laws, when tyranny " becomes insupportable, the oppressed have " no alternative but . . . . .'—' Enough,' ex- " claimed Decrès, putting his hand before the " mouth of the reader; ' I will hear no more; " close the book.' And the other coolly laid " down the volume, as though nothing particular " had occurred, and began to talk on a totally " different subject."

On another occasion, a certain Marshal, after his fatal defection, alarmed at the ill impression which his conduct was calculated to produce on the public mind, and vainly seeking the approbation and support of those who surrounded him, endeavoured to interest Decrès in his favour. " I " have always borne in mind," said he to Decrès, " one of our conversations in which you so ener- " getically painted the evils and perplexities that

" weighed upon the country. The force of your " arguments greatly influenced me in the step " which I took with the view of alleviating our " misfortunes."—" Yes, my dear fellow," replied Decrès; " but did it not also occur to you that " you evershot your mark ? "

" In order that these anecdotes may be appre- " ciated as they deserve," said I to the Emperor, " I must inform your Majesty that they were " related to me by Decrès himself during your " absence, and when he certainly entertained no " idea of your return."

The Emperor maintained the conversation for nearly two hours in the bath. He did not dine till nine o'clock, and he desired me to stay with him. We discoursed about the military school at Paris. I left the school only a year before Napoleon entered it, and therefore the same officers, tutors, and comrades were common to us both. He took particular pleasure in reverting with me to this period of our youth; in reviving the recollection of our occupations, our boyish tricks, our games, &c.

In this cheerfulness of humour, he called for a glass of Champaign, which was rather an unusual thing; for such is his habitual abstinence, that a single glass of wine is sufficient to flush his face, and to render him very talkative. It is well known that he seldom sits longer than a quarter of an hour or half an hour at table; but to-day

we had sat upwards of two hours. He was very much surprised when Marchand informed him it was eleven o'clock. " How rapidly the time has " slipped away," said he, with an expression of satisfaction. " Why can I not always pass my " hours thus agreeably! My dear Las Cases," said he, as he dismissed me, " you leave me " happy!"

Dangerous illness of my Son.—Remarkable observations.—The Dictionary of Weathercocks.—Bertholet.

13th.—Dr. Warden and two other medical gentlemen, came to hold a consultation on my son, whose indisposition alarmed me.

The Emperor, at my request, consented to receive Dr. Warden, our old acquaintance of the Northumberland. He conversed for upwards of two hours, familiarly taking a review of those acts of his government which had drawn upon him the greatest share of enmity, falsehood, and calumny. As the Doctor afterwards observed to me, nothing could be more correct, clear, curious and satisfactory, thau these details.

The Emperor concluded with the following remarkable observations: " I concern myself but " little about the libels that have been written " against me. My acts, and the events of my " reign, refute them more completely than the " most skilful arguments that could be employed.

"I seated myself on an empty throne. I arrived "at supreme power, unsullied by the crimes "that have usually disgraced the chiefs of dy- "nasties. Let history be consulted, let me be "compared with others! If I have to fear the "reproaches of posterity and history, it is not "for having been too wicked, but perhaps for "having been too good."

After dinner the Emperor looked at the *Dictionnaire des Girouettes*, (Dictionary of Weather-cocks) which is humourously conceived though not so well executed. It is an alphabetic collection of the living characters who have figured on the scene of public events since the Revolution, and whose language opinions and conduct have followed the variation of the wind. Weather-cocks are affixed to their names, with an abstract of the speeches or a description of the acts which have procured for them the distinction. On opening the work, the Emperor inquired whether any of us were mentioned in it. "No Sire," some one present jokingly replied, "none save "your Majesty." The name of Napoleon was indeed recorded in the work, because, as it was affirmed, he had first sanctioned the republic and then assumed the prerogative of royalty.

The Emperor read to us several articles from the dictionary. The contrast exhibited at different times in the language and conduct of certain individuals, was truly curious; and the

transition was in some instances performed with so much coolness and effrontery that the Emperor several times suspended his reading and burst into a hearty fit of laughter. However, after going through a few pages, he closed the book with an expression of disgust and regret, observing, that after all, the publication was a disgrace to society, a code of turpitude, and a record of our dishonour. One article seemed to affect him deeply, namely, that on Bertholet, whom he had so loaded with favour, and on whom, he said, he had every reason to rely.

The following charming trait in the Emperor's character may be mentioned here, though it is pretty generally known. Bertholet had sustained losses which involved him in difficulties, when the circumstance having come to the Emperor's knowledge, he sent him 100,000 crowns, adding, that he had reason to complain of him, since he seemed to have forgotten that he, Napoleon, was always ready to serve his friends. Bertholet, however, behaved very ungratefully to the Emperor, at the period of his disasters. His conduct deeply affected Napoleon at the time, and he was often heard to exclaim:—"What Ber-" tholet . . . . on whom I thought I could rely " with such confidence! . . . ."

On the Emperor's return from Elba, Bertholet seemed again inclined to manifest his former sentiments of attachment to his benefactor. He ven-

tured to show himself at the Tuileries, and desired Monge to inform the Emperor, that if he did not obtain a sight of him, he would put a period to his existence the moment he left the palace. The Emperor could not refuse his request, and saluted him with a smile as he passed by.

During his reign the Emperor had conferred repeated favours on several great manufacturers, among others on Oberkamp, Richard Lenoir, &c. He wished to look for their names in the Dictionary, but every voice was raised to bear witness to their good conduct.

Reception of the passengers of the Bengal Fleet.

14th.—About four o'clock a great number of visitors came to Longwood. They were passengers who had arrived by the East India fleet, and the Emperor had signified his willingness to receive them. The party consisted of Mr. Strange, the brother-in-law of Lord Melville, First Lord of the English Admiralty; a Mr. Arburthnot; and Sir William Burroughs, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; two of Lord Moira's Aides-de-camp's; and some others, together with several ladies. We were all conversing together in the anti-chamber, when the Emperor left his own room to proceed to the garden. This circumstance excited the curiosity

of our visitors, who eagerly flew to the windows to see him pass by:—the scene reminded us of Plymouth. The Grand Marshal conducted our visitors to the presence of the Emperor, who received them with the most perfect grace, and with that captivating smile which has exercised such irresistible power. Curiosity and lively emotion were painted in the countenances of all.

The Emperor conversed with each individual, and according to custom, instantly seized any circumstance that happened to be connected with their names, as he heard them announced. He discoursed with the Supreme Judge on legislation and the administration of justice; with the Company's Officers, on trade and the internal government of India. He questioned the military gentlemen as to how many years they had served, and how many wounds they had received; he paid many flattering compliments to the ladies, and remarked, that the climate of Bengal had not spoiled the delicacy of their complexions, &c. Then addressing himself to one of Lord Moira's aides-de-camp, he observed, that the Grand Marshal had informed him that Lady Loudon was on the Island, and that had she been within his limits, he should have had great pleasure in paying his compliments to her; but that as she happened to reside beyond the boundaries that had been prescribed to him, he had no more oppor-

tunity of seeing her, than if she were still at Bengal.

During these conversations, in which I acted as interpreter, Mr. Strange, with whom I had previously been talking, drew me aside by the flap of my coat, and in a tone of surprise and satisfaction said :—" What grace and dignity of man-" ner the Emperor displays—he shows he has " been accustomed to the etiquette of holding " a levee!"

We conducted the company to the drawing-room, and curiosity led them to take a peep at the Emperor's apartments. Sir William Burroughs, who from the post he holds, may be supposed to have some connection with the English ministry, on entering the drawing-room, asked me whether it was our dining-room. I informed him that it was the drawing-room, or that we might more properly say, it was the only room in the house ; at this he was much astonished. I then pointed out to him through the window, the two little chambers which are all the Emperor has for his own use. His countenance expressed regret, and he seemed, in his own mind, to be drawing comparisons between the present and the past. Remarking the wretchedness of the furniture and the narrow limits of our abode, he said with an air of concern—" You will be better " provided for soon."—" How," said I, " is there

" any intention of removing us from the Island ?"—
" No, but some elegant furniture and a commo-
" dious house are to be sent to you."—" We do
" not," I replied, " complain of the furniture, or
" the house ; but of the rock to which we have
" been banished and the latitude in which it is
" situated. This latitude cannot be changed and
" we can never be well here."

I repeated to him literally what the Emperor had, a few days previously said to the Governor on the same subject. Sir William was amazed, and pressing my hand, he said with a degree of warmth :—" My dear Sir, he is too great and
" too gifted a man ; we have too much cause to
" dread and fear him."—" But," said I, in my turn, " why not have driven the car of glory to-
" gether, instead of mutually destroying each
" other by dragging it different ways ? What
" might not then have been its course ?" He looked at me, and again pressing my hand, he said with a pensive air :—" Yes, that would
" doubtless have been better ; but . . . . . ."

All were particularly struck with the Emperor's freedom of manners, and his tranquil expression of countenance. I know not what they had expected to see. One remarked that he could scarcely form a conception of the strength of mind necessary to enable Napoleon to endure such wonderful reverses. " That is," replied I, " because nobody yet well knows the Emperor's

" character. He told us the other day, that he " had been like a block of marble during all the " great events of his life; that they had slipped " over him without producing any impression " either on his moral or physical faculties."

After dinner, the Emperor asked us, as he often does, what we should like to read. Some one proposed that we should resume the Dictionary of Weathercocks; but this the Emperor objected to, on the ground that it served but to render his evenings the more unpleasant. " Rather let us " amuse ourselves with fiction," said he; and asking for Jerusalem Delivered, he read aloud several cantos of that poem, occasionally translating passages into French. He then read the chief part both of Phedre and Athalie, always expressing his great admiration of the writings of Racine.

Equality of punishments.— The Emperor requires me to give him a detailed history of my Atlas.

15th.—The Emperor during his walk conversed on various subjects, and at length happened to light on that of crimes and punishments. He observed that the greatest jurists, even those who had been influenced by the spirit of the age, were divided as to the principle of the equalization of capital punishments. At the establishment of the Code, he should have been averse to equalization, had not circumstances

obliged him to adopt a contrary course. He asked my opinion: "I am," said I, "decidedly "favourable to the inequality of punishments. "Our notions demand a gradation in punishments, "analogous to that which we conceive in crimes. "The harmony of our sensations seems to require "this. I can never bring myself to rank on a "level with each other, the wretch who has mur- "dered his father, and him who has merely com- "mitted a slight robbery accompanied by vio- "lence. Should these two criminals be visited "by the same punishment?

"In this question the criminal himself is least "of all to be considered. The punishment is his "business; and humanity discovers many hidden "modes of relieving his physical suffering. His "ideas previously to the commission of the crime, "the feelings which his punishment creates in the "minds of the spectators, and the effect it pro- "duces on society in general;—these are the "points which must claim the attention of the "legislator in deciding the question of the equali- "zation of punishments. It is erroneous to sup- "pose that death alone is sufficient, and that the "kind of death has no influence on the mind of "the criminal in the premeditation of his crime; "for if there be inequality of punishment, there "is no culprit who would not make his choice "if he were permitted so to do. Let any member "of society consult his own feelings: he would

" shudder at the very idea of certain punish-
" ments, while perhaps he would be totally in-
" different to certain modes of death. The in-
" equality of punishments, and the solemnity of
" executions, belong therefore, to the justice and
" policy of civilization. Yet I conceive that it
" would now be impossible to subdue public
" opinion on this point." *

The Emperor entirely concurred in these ideas. Having mentioned the crime of regicide, he observed that it might truly be said to be the greatest of all crimes, owing to the consequences which it produced. " The man," said he, " who " might have raised his arm to murder me in " France, would have subverted all Europe; and " how many times have I not been exposed to " assassination !"

Lady Loudon, wife of Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India, has been for several days at St. Helena, where she attracts general attention. She is a lady of high rank, corresponding nearly with a French Duchess under the old regime. The English officers treat her

* I must however, confess that my opinion is likely to be erroneous, if, as I have been informed, the statements of the registers in France, since the introduction of the equalization of punishments, when compared with those drawn up during a similar interval under the old penal laws, present a diminution in the number of criminals.

with the utmost respect. To-day the Admiral invited her to a little *fête* on board the Northumberland. He sent a messenger on horseback to request me to lend him my *Atlas* for the evening, in order that he might shew it to Lady Loudon, whose husband was described in it as the first representative of the Plantagenets, and consequently as the *legitimate* heir to the throne of England.

The Admiral and I were on a footing of perfect indifference; indeed we had been nearly strangers to each other since the moment he put me ashore. The request was not so much a mark of politeness to me, as a compliment to the work itself. The *Atlas* had been the subject of conversation, the lady had expressed a wish to see it, and the Admiral felt a desire to shew it her. However, I was unable to satisfy this desire. The book was in the Emperor's chamber, and such was the answer I returned.

The Emperor smiled at the honour which the Admiral had intended for me; and I could not help pitying the amusement that had been prepared for the lady. This circumstance led the Emperor himself to speak of the *Atlas*, and to repeat some observations which had fallen from him before. He remarked that he heard my work spoken of at all times and in all places; that he found it sought after by foreigners as well as Frenchmen. He had heard it mentioned on board the Bel-

lerophon and the Northumberland, at the Island of St. Helena, and, in short, every where, persons of information and rank either knew the work, or expressed a wish to become acquainted with it. " This," said he, in a lively strain, " is what I call *enjoying a real triumph, a great* " *reputation in the literary world.* I wish you " would give me the history of this Atlas. Tell " me when and how you conceived the idea of it, " the manner in which it was executed, and its " results: why you first of all published it under " a fictitious name, and why you did not after- " wards affix your real name to it: in short, give " me a true and particular account; you under- " stand, Mr. Counsellor of State?"

I replied that it would be a long story; though to me the recital would not be devoid of pleasure; for, I added, that my Atlas was the history of a great portion of my life, and that, above all, I was indebted to it for the happiness of being now near the person of the Emperor.

The following is the narrative, such as it appeared when corrected after my first hasty notes. Its length, doubtless, requires indulgence; but this I trust the reader will be inclined to grant, on consideration that the details which I here enter into revive the recollection of my happiest years, of the period of my youth, my health and strength, in a word, of the dear but brief interval of the plenitude of life. I once

more entreat that the reader will pardon the prolixity in which I have indulged; but this statement so forcibly revives my recollections of past happiness, that even now, on reading it over, I cannot find it in my heart to cancel any part of it.

HISTORY OF MY ATLAS.

" This Work was partly the fruit of chance; " but above all, of necessity, which, as the com- " mon proverb says, is the mother of industry. . . . " At the time of the first reverses of the French " emigrants, I was cast by the political hurri- " cane in the streets of London, without friends, " without money, and without resources; but " possessing the requisite courage and willing- " ness for exertion. To a man animated by such " a spirit, London, at that time, afforded certain " sources of emolument.

" After having unsuccessfully made several " applications, I determined to rely on myself " alone, and, like Figaro, I decided on turning " author. For a moment, I had thoughts of be- " coming a romance writer: this idea was sug- " gested to me by the proposals of a bookseller; " but he required too much, and was inclined to " pay too little. I then turned my thoughts to " writing history, which, at all events, was calcu- " lated to procure for me a certain moral advan-

" tage, by storing my mind with positive know-
" ledge. It was then I conceived the first idea
" of my Atlas, which I may truly regard as an
" inspiration from Heaven, for to it I owed my
" life. The work was at first a simple sketch,
" a mere nomenclature, very different from the
" form in which it now appears. However, it
" sufficed immediately to relieve me from embar-
" rassment, and to secure to me what might be
" called a little fortune, in comparison with the
" miseries endured by the other emigrants. Then,
" Sire, came the Peace of Amiens, and the bene-
" fits conferred on us by your amnesty. I was
" enabled to make a journey to France, merely as
" a traveller, having no other object in view, than
" to breathe my native air and to see the French
" capital. There I found myself at liberty to ex-
" press my sentiments without restraint; inves-
" tigation was easy; my ideas and my judgment
" were enlarged; I was master of my time, and
" I undertook to arrange my Atlas in the form
" in which it now appears. I proposed publish-
" ing regularly four sheets per quarter. I was
" now vastly improved both in my mind and cir-
" cumstances. Interest, attention, good offers,
" money and connexions, poured in upon me;
" and I may confidently affirm, that this was the
" happiest period of my life.

" In England, I had published my Work under
" a feigned name, in order to avoid compromis-

" ing the honour of my own. I happened to fix " upon *Le-Sage*, just as I might have decided on " Leblanc, Legris, or Lenoir. But I could not " have made a more unlucky choice, or, at least, " I could not have assumed a more general ap- " pellation. Some time after, a letter, which was " intended for me, passed through all the different " colonies of French emigrants in London, and " was delivered by turns to twenty-two priests, " who all bore the name of Le-Sage. At length " one, who had apparently discovered that the " name did not belong to me, sent me the letter " in a violent rage, observing that when people " thought proper to change their names, they " should at least avoid taking those that belonged " to other individuals.

" In France I still preserved the name of Le " Sage, which had now become identified with my " Atlas. To have published it under a new name " might have led to the supposition that it was a " new work. Besides I did not wish to expose " my own name to the chance of ill succes, to " the attacks of the Journals or the bickerings " of criticism. Even though I had been ensured " of the complete success of the work, I should " not probably have felt the more inclined to " affix my real name to it, owing to a remnant of " my old prejudices of which I could not easily " divest myself.

" Certainly this literary fame flattered me not

" a little; but I had sprung from a warlike race,
" and I conceived that I was in duty bound to
" pursue fame of another kind. However, cir-
" cumstances rendered this impossible, and I
" think it proper to mention that at least I was
" not unconscious of the duty. I never had
" cause to repent of my double appellation. In-
" dependently of my real motive for assuming
" it, it diffused around me an air of adventure
" and romance which was by no means disagree-
" able, and which was moreover in unison with
" my temper and character. It occasioned many
" mistakes and humorous scenes which afforded
" me considerable amusement. In England, for
" example, I have often when in company, been
" questioned in the most innocent way imaginable
" respecting the merits of M. Le Sage's work;
" and at a boarding-school I was once addressed
" in very discourteous language, because I obsti-
" nately persisted in condemning my own Atlas.

" So long as I continued myself to manage the
" publication of the work, my method was to
" treat in person with every individual who offered
" to set their names down as subscribers. I had
" now no favours to solicit; I rather found it ne-
" cessary in some instances to guard against re-
" ceiving those that were offered. In France
" particularly I was overwhelmed with acts of
" kindness and flattering compliments. Some
" paid me these attentions because they knew

" me and others precisely because they did not
" know me; but I was in every instance greatly
" indebted for them to my determination of pre-
" serving perfect equilibrium with all parties.
" For my part I enjoyed the curious spectacle
" that now presented itself to me. As every one
" who wished to become a subscriber was obliged
" to give in his own name, I took a review of
" many characters, whom I well knew, and ob-
" served them in silence. I was thus enabled to
" meditate at my ease on the curious diversity of
" opinion, judgment, and taste. The point which
" *one* condemned, was precisely that which *ano-*
" *ther* most admired; which a *third* declared to
" be indispensable, and which a *fourth* pronounced
" to be inadmissible. Each according to custom
" failed not to set forth his own opinion as the
" prevailing one: it was the sentiment of all Paris
" and of every body.

" I had now an opportunity of being convinced
" of the great advantage a man derives from su-
" perintending his own business himself, and of
" the important influence of politeness and good
" manners in all the affairs of life. I acceded
" to every thing that was proposed, I received
" every hint that was suggested, and I was repaid
" a hundredfold for my complaisance. It fre-
" quently happened that a person who had called
" on me without any intention of purchasing the
" work, was not only induced to carry it away

" with him, but brought me ten, twenty, or even " a hundred additional subscribers.

" One described my Atlas, as a classic work, " to the Minister of the Interior; another recom- " mended it to the Minister for Foreign Affairs; " a third promised to procure for me the decora- " tions of the Legion of Honour, and a fourth " wrote a flattering critique on the work, and " got it inserted it in the public journals. Some " carried their interest and attachment for me " even to a degree of enthusiasm. Of this the " following are instances. One of my provin- " cial subscribers, who was unacquainted with " me, wrote to request, as a particular favour, " that I would get my portrait engraved to em- " bellish the work, offering, in case I acceded to " the proposition, to defray half the expences of " the engraving. Another, who was the owner " of the Chateau de Montmorency, paid me a visit " every week under pretence of enquiring whe- " ther I had got a new sheet of my Atlas ready " for publication, but in reality, as he himself as- " sured me, to pass his happiest hours in my so- " ciety. He added, that if ever I should take a " fancy to sell my conversation as I did the sheets " of my work, it was in my power, if I chose, " to ruin him. I afterwards learned that this " was a man of a very eccentric turn; one of La " Bruyere's characters; quite after the manner " of Jean-Jacques. For a considerable time he

" seemed to rack his inventions in making me
" offers of service in the most delicate way ima-
" ginable; he even went so far as to throw out
" paternal suggestions to me. ' M. Le Sage,'
" said he, oftener than once; ' you ought to
" marry. You possess qualities that are calcu-
" lated to insure the happiness of a wife, and
" still more that of a father-in-law.' I must not
" omit to mention, that the old gentleman had
" but one daughter, and she was a rich heiress.
" However, the warmth of our intimacy gradually
" abated, till at length I entirely lost the ac-
" quaintance. It was not until a considerable
" time after, when being on a country excursion
" with a party of ladies, the sight of the Chateau
" de Montmorency revived the recollection of my
" old friend. I related the history of his eccen-
" tricities to the ladies who accompanied me;
" their curiosity was excited, and we determined
" to visit the castle. The porter refused to ad-
" mit us. On my enquiring whether the gentle-
" man was at his country residence, I received
" for answer that he was there, and that this was
" precisely the reason why we could not be ad-
" mitted. I thought it very extraordinary that
" he should thus immure himself in his castle and
" render himself totally inaccessible. With con-
" siderable difficulty I prevailed on the servant
" to announce M. Le Sage. The sound of the
" name operated like enchantment; the affront

" offered to an elegant calash and rich liveries
" was immediately repaired. The gates were
" thrown open apparently to the no small asto-
" nishment of the porter. The servants received
" orders to show us over the castle, and to offer
" us every kind of refreshment. We had brought
" with us in the carriage provisions for a little
" rural repast; but a sumptuous dinner was laid
" out for us in one of the best apartments of the
" castle; and we could not with any thing like
" good grace decline accepting what was so
" politely offered to us. All this hospitality
" was perfectly disinterested on the part of
" the worthy old gentleman, who was con-
" fined to his chamber with the gout. He was
" overjoyed at seeing me; and he seemed to
" regard my visit as the return of the prodigal
" son. He insisted on seeing the ladies who ac-
" companied me, and he was carried into the
" dining-room to do the honours of the dessert.
" One thing that amused us infinitely was, that
" he seemed to have no idea of the rank of the
" friends by whom I was accompanied; and he
" treated them like persons of inferior rank,
" though they were in reality ladies of distinction.
" The old gentleman would now scarcely allow
" me to depart; he insisted on my repeating my
" visit, and said, that I and all my friends should
" ever be received with welcome at his castle.
" But alas! I could not avail myself of his kind-

" ness; for a few days after I read in the papers
" the death of this good and sincere friend.

" From the commencement of my greatness, I
" may under every point of view, date the termi-
" nation of the golden age of my Atlas. When I
" was transplanted to Court and permitted to ap-
" proach Your Majesty's person, I conceived that
" I could not with propriety descend to the de-
" tails that had hitherto occupied me. I confided
" the management of the copyright to one of my
" old college companions, who had been an emi-
" grant like myself, but who did not turn the
" publication to so good an account as I had
" done.

" On entering upon my new post, at Court, I
" was loaded with compliments on my produc-
" tion; but to these I replied indifferently, and
" just as one would do at a ball after dropping
" one's mask. When it was found that I never
" alluded to my work, that I never quoted from
" it, and that I avoided all dissertations on it, I
" was never spoken to on the subject; and at
" length people began to wonder how I had ever
" written it, and indeed to doubt whether I had
" any right at all to be considered as its author.

" On hearing these words, the Emperor said
" to me, 'My dear Las Cases this doubt has found
" its way even to St. Helena. I have heard it
" affirmed that the work was not written by you,
" that you purchased the manuscript from the

" real author; and in support of this assertion it " has been remarked, that you know nothing at " all about the book because you never speak " of it.' To these observations, continued he, ' I " have merely contented myself with saying, Did " you never know any question to remain with- " out a complete answer? Besides I recognize " throughout the whole work the style, the very " expressions of Las Cases.'

" Many," said I, resuming my narrative, " will " think I injured myself by this denial; but I pre- " ferred good taste to quackery, and I was only " acting according to the dictates of my natural " disposition. Your Majesty was the other day " describing how Syeis used to present himself " loaded with written plans, and at the very first " word of contradiction, as soon as he found it " necessary to act on the defensive, he would ga- " ther up his papers and be off in a moment. " This was precisely my feeling. I never could " stand up publicly to support my opinions. Be- " fore I could do this I must enjoy the authority " of rank or the freedom of intimate friendship; " otherwise I prefer dooming myself to silence, " that is to say, when I am not interrogated and " urged to the point. But to return to my sub- " ject: so long as I remained in obscurity I en- " joyed the good-will of every one; but my ele- " vation rendered me an object of enmity, and I " felt the influence of that vague sentiment of

" envy and benevolence which ever follows the " footsteps of fortune. The public journals, " which for a length of time had overflowed with " flattery and agreeable expressions in favour of " the Historical Atlas, now inserted some very " ill-natured articles respecting the work, and " when these were traced to their source, the " writers frankly avowed that they had been oc- " casioned solely by changes that had taken " place in political opinions and public affairs.

" A report was delivered to the Institute of all " the works that had appeared for several years " past; and in this report the Atlas was very se- " verely treated. Happening to be one day in " company with the author of this report, to " whom I was known only by the name of Le " Sage, I expressed to him my dissatisfaction at " what he had said of the Atlas. He candidly " confessed that the work and its author were " alike unknown to him; that having found the " labour of writing the report too much for him, " he had divided the task among several other in- " viduals. He informed me that the article on " Le Sage's Atlas had been infinitely more severe " when delivered to him, than it appeared on its " insertion in the report. He had softened it " down considerably. ' I can easily perceive,' " continued he, ' that you have enemies in the " literary world, and for these you are indebted " to your habits and your situation. You have

" connected yourself with a Count somebody,
" who holds places at Court; but courtiers and
" authors never agree well together. Those Gen-
" tlemen are, for the most part, very unlike us.
" It is said, that in this curious partnership you
" supply the talent and he provides the money.
" What is the use of that? The Count is only
" making his profits on you! Your work is good,
" and your bookseller would have remunerated
" you for it. However, I am only repeating what
" I have heard, and I advise you to what I con-
" ceive to be your interest. If you wish to en-
" joy our suffrage, you must connect yourself
" with us, you must identify yourself with our
" doctrines, and leave the great folks to them-
" selves.'

" I replied, with all possible civility, that I
" was certainly indebted to him for his kind ad-
" vice, though it was not just then in my power
" to follow it. I assured him that he had formed
" an unfair opinion of my friend; that our purses
" and our very lives were common to each other;
" that our friendship and intimacy were indisso-
" luble; that we had vowed to live and die to-
" gether, and that nothing could induce us to
" break that vow. It was altogether a truly
" comic scene.

" Some time after I was dining at the table
" of a Prince: I was seated at the side of my ex-
" alted host, and was dressed in a uniform covered

" with lace. The member of the Institute was " one of the guests. Surprise and embarrass- " ment were pourtrayed in his countenance. I " spoke to him several times; but he always " drew close to his neighbours, whispering to " them, and apparently making enquiries. After " dinner he came up to me, and very good-hu- " mouredly begged me to relieve him from his " perplexity. He said he perfectly recollected " having had the honour of meeting me before, " but that he was quite at a loss to compre- " hend the trick that I had played upon him. " I disclaimed any intention of hoaxing him. " ' All that you have seen,' said I, ' and all that " I have told you, are nothing but reality and " truth. The mystery is easily solved. You " then saw M. Le Sage who supplies the talent, " and you now see M. Le Comte who provides " the funds. You now understand how histories " are written, and I have learned how reports are " made out.'

" An equally ridiculous mistake procured for " M. Le Sage in the famous *Yellow Dwarf*, the " honour of being set down as a Weathercock, " in quality of genealogist of the order under the " humourous name of *Parvulus Sapiens (Little Le " Sage.)* For this favour, as I afterwards learned, " I was indebted to the suppression that was " made during the King's reign, of the genealogy " of your Majesty, whose descent I was sup-

" posed to have traced from Æneas and Ascanius.
" It is difficult to conceive what could have been
" meant by all this, as there was nothing in the
" Atlas that could either directly or indirectly
" have suggested such an idea. However, at all
" the various times at which the Atlas and its
" author were assailed, numerous zealous and fer-
" vent partisans enquired whether I would be
" pleased to permit them to take up my defence.
" I invariably desired that the subject might be
" dropped; I conceived, that by thus occupying
" public attention, I should surely endanger my
" own tranquillity. I smiled at the ill-natured
" attacks that were made on poor M. Le Sage;
" but I should have been very sorry to have seen
" them extended to his *alias*.

" If however my Atlas enjoyed this general
" and extensive success, it certainly deserved it.
" The work is indeed adapted to every age, to
" every country, to every period; it is suited to
" all opinions, classes and plans of education. It
" is an assistant to him who wishes to learn, and
" a remembrancer to him who has learned. It is
" a guide to the scholar and an illustrator to the
" master. It embraces chronology, history, geo-
" graphy, politics, &c. To those who understand
" it and know how to use it, it may be truly said
" to compose a whole library in itself. It is the
" *Vade Mecum* of the pupil and the tutor, of the
" scholar and the man of business.

"Thus it had an immediate sale, and never I "imagine did any literary work prove so pro- "ductive to its author. On its first appearance, "the daily subscriptions frequently amounted to "2 or 300 louis. During the period when I "personally superintended the publication, I "calculated that the receipts constituted a yearly "income of at least 60 or 80,000 francs. It pro- "cured me a fortune. I had no other, for the "Revolution had deprived me of my patrimony, "which I had afterwards no hope of recovering; "for I had been obliged to renounce it upon oath, "before I could be permitted to set foot on the "French territory.

"There have been published 8 or 10,000 copies "of my Atlas in various editions; and their sale "has thrown into circulation 8 or 900,000 per- "haps a million of francs, out of which there "has been a clear profit of 300,000 francs "now in my hands. This constitutes my whole "fortune, for I possess nothing that has not "arisen out of my Atlas, and that may not be "included in its accounts. On my departure "from Europe, there were 150,000 francs due to "me by outstanding debts either good or bad; "and I possessed a collection of books obtained "by exchange, worth 200,000 francs; which "being distributed in lots of 1000 crowns each, "and exported to foreign countries, seemed to "promise certain returns. But unfortunately of

" all this brilliant produce I can now only count " on what I have already in my hands; the rest " is involved in so many chances, that I cannot " but consider it as lost. I have no agent in " Europe to manage my affairs, for I had not " time to make any arrangements for that pur- " pose; and the details are so numerous, scat- " tered and diversified, that I could not pos- " sibly give any one a thread to follow. The " outstanding debts are growing old; some of " my debtors are deceased, and some have left the " country, and as for the books they are in a " great part scattered about, spoiled and lost.

" At one time my work was on the point of " ensuring to me the possession of a brilliant " fortune; but my prospects were defeated by " the vilest shuffling. The details of this case " are so curious, that I cannot forbear mention- " ing them to your Majesty.

" At the commencement of the year 1813, two " merchants who had discovered that I was the " author of Le Sage's Historical Atlas, called on " me, and offered if I would supply them with " two millions of copies, to pay me immediately " at the rate of 20 per cent. in ready money, " and to convey the books gratis to London, " where they should still be my property and " should remain at my disposal. I stared at " this—I could not conceive what was meant, " and suspected that the merchants were hoaxing

" me. They on the other hand sought to explain
" themselves, by saying that the offer was made
" for the sake of procuring licences, an affair
" with which they found I was totally unac-
" quainted. Afterwards on repeating this con-
" versation to a friend, I learned that the vessels
" which were licensed to sail to England, to
" bring home colonial goods, could not leave
" France without an exportation equal in nominal
" value to their intended importation. Books
" were included among the allowable objects of
" exportation, and the merchants sought to ob-
" tain a light freight and a high price, which,
" at little expence, would entitle them to a
" considerable importation. My Atlas was ad-
" mirably calculated for this kind of speculation.
" However, before I entered into any agreement,
" I consulted the Director General of Customs,
" and the President of the Committee of Ex-
" portation, by whom I was informed that the
" thing was perfectly legal. With this assurance
" I immediately set to work. I entered upon
" one of the most curious speculations that can
" possibly be conceived. Only a brief interval
" was allowed me for making the necessary pre-
" parations. Thirty forms in folio were distri-
" buted to thirty of the principal printing offices
" in Paris; and from that moment the presses
" were kept at work without intermission. All
" the wove paper of a certain size was bought

" up, and it daily increased in price until it " reached upwards of 100 per cent. Such a " general bustle prevailed among all the printers " in Paris, as to alarm the police until the affair " was fully investigated and explained. I af- " forded employment either directly or indirectly " to between 3 and 400 hundred hands. At the " expiration of one and twenty days I was to be " ready with the two million copies of the Atlas, " and was to receive 400,000 francs in ready " money. I was perhaps the only individual in " the world who could have engaged in such a " speculation; for by a singular chance I had " kept all my forms ready composed by pur- " chasing the types at a vast expence. I was " now reaping the fruits of ten years' industry " and expenditure. This was truly a prize in " the lottery. I was mad with joy at my un- " expected good fortune. But alas! I was " building on a sandy foundation, and I was " doomed to pay dearly for the few happy mo- " ments of my illusion.

" The cynical M. de P. . . . . ., the Di- " rector General of the bookselling trade, who " was my colleague in the Council of State, " seemed bent on my ruin, though I was unable to " divine the cause of his animosity. While he " was giving me every assurance of his readiness " to serve me, he was, in an underhand way ex- " erting every endeavour to injure me; and was

" exciting against me all the most active booksel-
" sellers whom he had induced to become the
" agents of his operations. Of these facts I can
" entertain no doubt; for the letters secretly
" written on this subject, by P . . . . . ,
" were confidentially communicated to me, but
" motives of delicacy forbid my taking the satis-
" faction of reproaching him with his baseness.

" He first of all intimated to me that the sheets
" of my Atlas could not be carried out of France,
" because the law permitted the exportation of
" books only. I then enquired whether books in
" sheets were suffered to be exported; and on
" receiving an answer in the affirmative, I ob-
" served that my sheets must be considered
" merely as unbound books. M. de P . . . . . .
" then declared that the favour granted by the
" Emperor could be extended only to booksel-
" lers and not to authors; but M. de Montalivet,
" the Minister of the Interior, objected to this
" partiality and silenced M. de P . . . . . .
" The latter then asserted that the price of my
" sheets had been considerably encreased; but
" it was proved by reference to two hundred ad-
" vertisements inserted in the Journals during the
" last ten years, that the price had never varied.
" He next alluded to the intrinsic value of the
" work, and affirmed that what I sold for 100 sous
" did not cost me more than five or six, and started
" many other difficulties of an equally absurd

" kind. Meanwhile time was flying; the ships " were taking in their freights, the advantages " offered by the owners were diminishing, the " arbitrary valuations of the committees arrived, " and I who had persevered in my operations in " spite of every difficulty. now found myself sur- " rounded by a thousand alarms and vexations, " and thought myself happy in escaping absolute " ruin, and being able to recover my expences, " which exceeded 80,000 francs."

" But," said the Emperor, " this seems almost " incredible; I can scarcely conceive how all " this happened. Your speculation was exactly " suited to my taste; it would have advanced " you in my good opinion; I should have been " delighted with your activity and the method of " your details. Nothing afforded me greater " pleasure than to enable those around me to make " their fortunes by honest means. Why did you " not appeal to me? Why did you not expose the " conduct of P . . . . . ? You should have " seen how I would have treated him."—" Sire,' I replied, " such an idea never entered my mind; " the moment was critical, your time was pre- " cious. How could I hope that your Majesty " would listen to me, or that I could satisfactorily " explain an affair so complicated and delicate? " How could I convince you that I was the au- " thor of a work that bore the name of another? " What would have been thought of one so near

"Your Majesty's person meddling with com-
"mercial licences and bookselling speculations?
"I felt that I was so little known to Your Ma-
"jesty, that I dreaded the thought of the affair
"reaching your ear. Thus, though I was ac-
"tively engaged in this affair, yet I exerted every
"endeavour to prevent its gaining publicity, and
"I made up my mind to suffer the worst."

"You were very wrong," said the Emperor.
"You behaved rather oddly with me and perhaps
"also with P . . . . . ; I cannot otherwise
"explain the unnatural malignity which he evinced
"towards you."

The Governor's visit—His conversation with the Emperor.

16th.—The breach between the Governor and ourselves had been decided ever since the occurrence of what I have already set down as his first ill-natured trick, his first insult, &c. Our reserve and mutual dislike encreased every day; in short, we were on very bad terms with each other.

He presented himself at Longwood about three o'clock, accompanied by his military secretary, and desired to see the Emperor, as he wished to speak with him on business. The Emperor was rather unwell, and was not yet dressed; however, he said he would see the Governor as soon as he had finished dressing. In the course of a few minutes, he entered the drawing-room, and I introduced Sir Hudson Lowe.

As I was waiting in the anti-chamber with the military secretary, I could hear, from the Emperor's tone of voice, that he was irritated, and that the conversation was maintained with great warmth. The audience was a very long, and a very clamorous one. On the Governor's departure, I went to the garden, whither the Emperor had sent for me. He had not been well for the last two days, and this affair completely upset him.

"Well, Las Cases," said he, on perceiving me, "we have had a violent scene. I have been "thrown quite out of temper! They have now "sent me worse than a gaoler! Sir Hudson Lowe "is a downright executioner! I received him to-"day with my stormy countenance, my head in-"clined, and my ears pricked up. We looked "most furiously at each other. My anger must "have been powerfully excited, for I felt a vibra-"tion in the calf of my left leg. This is always "a sure sign with me; and I have not felt it for "a long time before."

The Governor had opened the conversation with an air of embarrassment, and in broken sentences. He said, some planks of wood had arrived. . . . . The newspapers must have made Napoleon acquainted with this circumstance. . . . . They were intended for the construction of a residence for him . . . . . He should be glad to know what he thought of it . . . . . &c. To this the Emperor replied only by a very significant look. Then ad-

verting hastily to other subjects, he told the Governor with warmth, that he asked him for nothing, and that he would receive nothing at his hands; and that he merely desired to be left undisturbed. He added, that though he had much cause to complain of the Admiral, he had never had reason to think him totally destitute of feeling; that though he found fault with him, he had notwithstanding received him always in perfect confidence; but that during the month that Sir Hudson Lowe had been on the island, he had experienced more causes of irritation than during the six preceding months.

The Governor having observed, that he did not come to receive a lesson; the Emperor replied, " But that is no proof that you do not stand in need " of one. You tell me, Sir, that your instructions " are much more rigid than those that were given " to the Admiral. Do they direct that I should " suffer death by the sword or by poison? No " act of atrocity would surprise me on the part " of your ministers! If my death is determined " on, execute your orders! I know not how you " will administer the poison; but as for putting " me to death by the sword, you have already " found the means of doing that. If you should " attempt, as you have threatened, to violate the " sanctuary of my abode, I give you fair warn- " ing, that the brave 53d shall only enter, by " trampling over my corse.

" On hearing of your arrival, I congratulated " myself on the hope of meeting with a general, " who having spent some portion of his life on the " Continent, and having taken part in important " public affairs, would know how to act in a be- " coming way to me; but I was grossly deceived." The Governor here said, that, as a soldier, his conduct had been conformable with the interests and forms of his country. On which the Emperor replied, " Your country, your government, and " yourself, will be overwhelmed with disgrace " for your conduct to me; and this disgrace will " extend to your posterity. Was there ever an " act of more refined cruelty than yours, Sir, " when a few days ago you invited me to your " table under the title of *General Bonaparte*, " with the view of rendering me an object of ridi- " cule or amusement to your guests? Would you " have proportioned the extent of your respect to " the title you were pleased to give me? I am not " General Bonaparte to you. It is not for you or " any one in the world to deprive me of dignities " which are fairly my own. If Lady Loudon had " been within my boundaries, I should undoubt- " edly have visited her, because I do not stand " upon strict etiquette with a woman; but I " should nevertheless have considered that I was " conferring an honour upon her. I have been " told, that you propose that some of the of- " ficers of your staff should accompany me in

" my rides about the Island, instead of the officer " established at Longwood. Sir, when soldiers " have been christened by the fire of the battle- " field, they have all one rank in my eyes. It is not " the sight of any particular uniform that offends " me here; but the obligation of seeing soldiers " at all, since this must be regarded as a tacit " concession of the point which I dispute. I am " not a prisoner of war; and I cannot, therefore, " submit to the regulations required in such a " situation. I am placed in your power only by " the most horrible breach of confidence."

The Governor, on taking leave, requested to be allowed to present his Military Secretary to the Emperor; but the latter replied that that was very unnecessary, and that if the officer had any delicacy of feeling he could not wish it; for his own part he would rather decline it. He added, that no social relationship could exist between gaolers and prisoners; and that the presentation was therefore perfectly useless. He then dismissed the Governor.

The Grand Marshal joined us; he came from his own house, where the Governor had alighted both before and after his visit to the Emperor. He gave a detailed account of both his calls.

He said that the Governor on his return had shown great ill-humour, and had complained very much of the Emperor's temper. Not relying sufficiently on his own wit, he had recourse to that

of the Abbé de Pradt, whose work had just then passed through our hands. He had said, "that "Napoleon was not content with having created "to himself an imaginary France, an imaginary "Spain, and an imaginary Poland, but that he "now wished to create *an imaginary St. Helena.*" On hearing this, the Emperor could not refrain from laughing.

We then drove out in the calash, and on our return the Emperor took a bath. He sent for me, and giving directions that he would not dine till nine o'clock, kept me with him. He talked over the affairs of the day, and dwelt on the abominable treatment he suffered, the atrocious malignity by which it was dictated, and the brutality by which it was executed. After a few moments of silence and reflection, he exclaimed, as he frequently does; "My dear Las Cases, "they will kill me here! It is certain!" What a horrible prophecy! . . . .

He dismissed me at half past ten.

17.—I was very ill the whole of the night; the Emperor breakfasted in the garden, and sent for me to attend him there. He was himself dull and melancholy, and was not at all well. After breakfast we walked for a long time in the garden; he uttered not a word. The heat obliged him to return in-doors about ten o'clock. He regretted excessively the want of shade.

About four o'clock he sent to know how I was.

He had just returned from taking a drive in the calash, in which I had not been able to join him. I walked with him and the Grand Marshal until half past five. He still had a melancholy and abstracted air. He desired Bertrand to give us an account of his residence at Constantinople in 1796, his journey to Athens, and his return across Albania. A great deal was said relative to Selim III., and his improvements, the Baron de Tott, &c. The conversation was very interesting, but unfortunately I find in my manuscript only a few imperfect notes which my memory cannot now assist me in filling up.

After dinner the Emperor, who had scarcely eaten any thing, attempted to read to us the sitting of the academy from Anacharsis. His voice and his whole frame had lost their wonted vigour and spirit. Contrary to his custom, he ended without analysis or observation. He retired to rest as soon as the chapter was concluded.

Madame Marshal Lefèvre.

18th.—The Emperor continued indisposed. On his return from a drive in the calash he took a bath, and sent for me. He evinced a gaiety of manner; and we conversed till half past eight o'clock. He ordered dinner in his own study; and he desired me to stay and dine with him. The place, the tête-a-tête, the ele-

gance of the dinner service, and the neatness with which the table was laid out, gave me, I said, an idea of comfort; the Emperor smiled at my observation. He asked me many questions relative to London, my emigration, the French Princes, and the Bishop of Arras. He himself recurred to the principal events of his Consulship, and gave me some curious details and anecdotes on these subjects. We then began to talk about the old and new courts of France, &c. Many of the observations that were made, would, if stated here, only be repetitions, for I believe I have mentioned them before. Other remarks that fell rom the Emperor, and which are merely hinted at in my manuscript, must remain for ever lost.

I will transcribe only the following particulars as new. I was entertaining the Emperor with the anecdotes and ridiculous stories, that were related gratuitously, no doubt, of Madame Lefèvre, who long enjoyed the privilege of furnishing the drawing-rooms of Paris, and even the drawing-room of the Tuileries, with a subject quizzing. "I joined in the ridicule," said I, "like every body else, until one day I renounced "it for ever, on hearing an anecdote which "proved her nobleness of sentiment and good-"ness of heart.

"Madame Lefèvre, whose husband was once "a private in the guards, and who consequently "filled a humble station in life, seemed to take

" pleasure in reviving the recollection of circum-
" stances connected with her former station, and
" even in alluding to the laborious occupations
" which she had been obliged to pursue. Dur-
" ing their poverty, she and her husband had
" been engaged in a domestic capacity in the
" family of the Marquis de Valady, the Captain
" of the corps in which Lefèvre served. The
" Marquis, who stood godfather to Lefèvre's
" child, played a conspicuous part in the deser-
" tion of the guards, nor was he less celebrated
" for his fanatical zeal in favour of republican
" liberty; but he was nevertheless a man of ge-
" nerous sentiments. He was a member of the
" Convention, and he perished because he op-
" posed the execution of Louis XVI., publicly
" declaring that he considered it as absolute mur-
" der, adding, that Louis had already been too
" unfortunate as a King to render the infliction of
" any additional punishment necessary.

" The wife of the Marquis on her return to
" France after her emigration, immediately re-
" ceived the kindest offers and attentions from
" the family of Lefèvre, who were then living in
" a style of splendour and credit.

" One day Madame Lefevre called upon her,
" and, in her usual strain of language, said,
" ' How little kindness and goodness of heart
" there is among you people of quality. We,
" who have risen from the ranks, know our duty

" better. We have just heard that M——, one " of our old officers, and your husband's com- " rade, has returned from his emigration, and " that he is dying for want! How shameful this " is! . . . . . We were fearful of offending him " by offering him assistance; but the case is " quite different with you. An act of service on " your part will be gratifying to him. Pray " give him this as coming from yourself.' With " these words, she presented to her friend a rou- " leau of 100 louis, or 1000 crowns. From that " moment, Sire," said I, " I felt no inclination to " join in the jokes against Madame Lèfevre; I " no longer entertained towards her any other " feeling than that of profound respect. I eagerly " advanced to take her hand whenever I met her " at the Tuileries, and I felt proud in escorting " her through the drawing-room, in spite of the " sneers that were buzzing around me."

We then related a number of traits of generosity exercised by the new favourites of fortune towards the old ruined families. Among others, we adverted to an instance of courtesy, perhaps somewhat far-fetched, in a certain individual, who, being originally a private soldier, attained the rank of Marshal, or General-in-chief, I forget which. One day, during his newly acquired splendour, he assembled together at a family dinner his former colonel, and four or five officers of the regiment, whom he received in his original

uniform of a private, and he addressed his guests in the same terms which he had been in the habit of employing before he attained his elevated rank.

" And this," observed the Emperor, " was the " only way to soften down the fury of the times; " for such acts as these must necessarily have " created mutual feelings of kindness between " the opposite parties, and we may naturally " suppose, that during recent events the persons " thus obliged will have returned the obligations " they received, were it only for the sake of being " *quit*."

This word *quit* reminds me of a characteristic trait of the Emperor, which must be noticed here.

A General had been guilty of irregularities in his department, which, had they been brought before the military tribunals, must have cost him his honour, and perhaps his life. Now, this General had rendered the most important services to Napoleon on the day of Brumaire. The Emperor sent for, and reproached him with his misconduct. " However," said he, " you have laid " me under obligations, which I have not forgot- " ten. I am perhaps about to transgress the laws, " and to fail in my duty. I pardon you, Sir; be- " gone! but know that from this day forward we " are *quit*. Take care of yourself for the future, " I shall look sharply after you.

The Governor of Java.—Doctor Warden.—Familiar conversation of the Emperor relative to his family.

19th.—Doctor Warden breakfasted with me to-day. The Governor of Java (Sir Stamford Raffles) and his staff, who had touched at St. Helena on their way to Europe, arrived at Longwood while we were at breakfast. Governor Raffles was well acquainted with all the Dutch gentlemen whom I had seen in 1810, during my mission to Amsterdam. The Emperor told me, that he would probably receive his visitors about three or four o'clock. In the mean time, I conversed for several hours with Doctor Warden, whom I furnished with some explanations on historical facts relating to the Emperor, about which I supposed he intended to write.*

About three o'clock the Emperor received in the garden the English gentlemen who had come from Java. He afterwards took a drive in the calash.

On his return about six o'clock, he desired me to follow him to his study. He sent for the Grand Marshal and his Lady, and conversed familiarly, until dinner time, on various subjects relating

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* I was sorry to find, on perusing the Doctor's work, that he has totally neglected the observations and corrections with which I furnished him; and has strangely misrepresented the particulars which I communicated to him.

to his family and his minutest domestic affairs during the period of his power. He dwelt particularly on the Empress Josephine. "They lived "together," he said, "like a private citizen and "his wife. They were most affectionate and "united, having for a long period occupied but "one chamber and one bed. These are circum- "stances," said the Emperor, "which exercise "great influence over the happiness of a family, "securing the reputation of the wife and the con- "fidence of the husband, and preserving union "and good conduct on both sides. A married "couple," continued he, "may be said never to "lose sight of one another, when they pass the "night together; but otherwise they soon be- "come estranged. Thus, as long as this practice "was continued, none of my thoughts or actions "escaped the notice of Josephine. She observed, "seized and comprehended every thing. This "circumstance was sometimes not altogether "without its inconvenience to myself and to pub- "lic affairs; but while we were at the camp of "Boulogne, a moment of ill-humour put an end "to this state of things." Certain political events which had occurred at Vienna, together with the report of the coalition which took place in 1805, had occupied the attention of the First Consul throughout the whole of the day, and a great part of the night. He retired to bed not in very good spirits, and he found Josephine

in a violent rage at his long absence. Jealousy was the real or pretended cause of this ill-humour. Napoleon grew angry in his turn, threw off the yoke of subjection, and could never be brought to submit to it again. At the time of his second marriage, the Emperor was fearful lest Maria Louisa, might exact similar obedience, for in that case he must have yielded. It is the true right and privilege of a wife, he observed.

"A son by Josephine," continued the Emperor, "would have completed my happiness, "not only in a political point of view, but as a "source of domestic felicity.

"As a political result, it would have secured "to me the possession of the throne; the French "people would have been as much attached to "the son of Josephine as they were to the King "of Rome; and I should not have set my foot on "an abyss covered with a bed of flowers. But "how vain are all human calculations! Who can "pretend to decide on what may lead to hap-"piness or unhappiness in this life!

"Still I cannot help believing that such a "pledge of our union, would have proved a "source of domestic felicity; it would have put "an end to the jealousy of Josephine, by which "I was continually harassed, and which after all "was the offspring of policy rather than of senti-"ment. Josephine despaired of having a child, "and she in consequence looked forward with

" dread to the future. She was well aware, that " no marriage is perfect without children; and at " the period of her second nuptials, there was no " longer any probability of her becoming a mo- " ther. In proportion as her fortune advanced, " her alarm increased. She availed herself of " every resource of medicine; and sometimes " almost persuaded herself that her remedies had " proved successful. When at length she was " compelled to renounce all hope, she suggested " to her husband the expediency of resorting to a " great political deception; and she even went so " far as directly to propose the adoption of such " a measure.

" Josephine possessed in an eminent degree " the taste for luxury, gaiety, and extravagance, " natural to creoles. It was impossible to regu- " late her expenditure; she was constantly in " debt; and thus there was always a grand dis- " pute when the day of payment arrived. She " was frequently known to direct her tradesmen " to send in only half their accounts. Even at " the Island of Elba, Josephine's bills came " pouring in upon me from all parts of Italy."

Some one who knew the Empress Josephine at Martinique, communicated to the Emperor many particulars relative to her family and her youthful days. During her childhood, it was several times predicted that she would wear a crown. Another circumstance no less curious and remarkable is,

that the phial, containing the holy oil used at the coronation of the Kings of France, is said to have been broken by Josephine's first husband, General Beauharnais, who, at a moment when the tide of popular favour was running against him, hoped by this means to re-establish his credit.

A thousand stories have been told and written respecting the marriage of Napoleon and Josephine. The campaigns of Italy explain the circumstance that first brought about their acquaintance and their union. After Vendemiare, Eugène who was yet a child, presented himself to General Bonaparte, then General-in-chief of the army of the Interior, to request that his father's sword might be restored to him. Lemarrois, one of Napoleon's Aides-de-camp, introduced the boy, who, the moment he beheld his father's sword, burst into tears. The General-in-chief was moved by this incident, and loaded the child with caresses. When Eugène described the manners of the young General to his mother, she lost no time in introducing herself to him. "It is "well known," said the Emperor, "that she "put faith in presentiments and prophecies. In "her childhood some fortuneteller had predicted "that she would attain splendid rank, and would "even ascend a throne. She moreover possessed "a considerable share of art; and after we be- "came acquainted, she frequently assured me, "that her heart beat when she first heard Eugène

" describe me, and that she then caught a glimpse " of her future greatness, and the accomplishment " of the prophecies respecting her fate.

" Another peculiar shade in the character of " Josephine," said the Emperor, " was her con- " stant habit of negation. At all times, and " whatever question I put to her, her first move- " ment was negative, her first answer *No;* and " this *no,*" continued the Emperor, " was not " precisely a falsehood, but merely a precaution, " or a defence."—" This," observed Madame Bertrand, " is a characteristic distinction be- " tween our sex and yours."—" But, after all, " Madam," resumed the Emperor, " this dis- " tinction arises only from the difference of edu- " cation. You love, and you are taught to say " *no;* we, on the contrary, take a pride in de- " claring that we love, whether we really do or " not. This is the whole course of the opposite " conduct of the two sexes. We are not, and " never can be, similar.

" During the reign of terror," said the Emperor, " Josephine was thrown into prison, while her hus- " band perished on the scaffold. Her son Eugène " was bound an apprentice to a joiner, which trade " he actually learned. Hortense had no better " prospects. She was, if I mistake not, sent to " learn the business of a sempstress."

Fouché was the first who ventured to touch the fatal string of the Imperial divorce. He took upon

himself, without any instructions, to advise Josephine to dissolve her marriage for the welfare of France. Napoleon, however conceived that the proper moment had not yet arrived. The step taken by Fouché, was a source of great vexation and trouble: it very much displeased the Emperor, and if he did not dismiss Fouché, at the earnest solicitation of Josephine, it was because he had himself secretly determined on the divorce, and he did not wish by thus punishing his minister, to give any check to public opinion on the subject.

However, it is but justice to observe that as soon as the Emperor shewed himself resolved on the divorce, Josephine consented to it. It cost her, it is true, a severe sacrifice; but she submitted without murmuring, and without attempting to avail herself of those obstacles which she might, however uselessly, have opposed to the measure.* She conducted herself with the ut-

* I received from the mouth of the Prince Primate some curious details concerning Josephine's marriage and divorce. Madame de Beauharnais was married to General Bonaparte, by a non-juring priest; who by pure accident had neglected to procure the requisite authority from the curate of the parish. This or some other informaility in the marriage, afterwards occupied the attention of Cardinal Fesch; and whether from his own scruples or otherwise, he succeeded at the time of the coronation, in persuading the Emperor and Empress to be married over again by him, privately; or at least to go over as much of the ceremony as he thought necessary. At the divorce, the civil separation was pronounced by the Senate. With regard to the

most grace and address. She desired that the Viceroy might conduct the proceedings, and she herself made offers of service with regard to the house of Austria.

Josephine would willingly have seen Maria Louisa. She frequently spoke of her with great interest, as well as of the young King of Rome. Maria Louisa, on her part, behaved wonderfully well to Eugène and Hortense; but she manifested the utmost dislike and even jealousy of Josephine. "I wished one day to take her to Malmaison," said the Emperor; "but she burst into tears

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religious separation, the Emperor would not apply to the Pope, and there was no necessity for so doing. Cardinal Fesch having remarried the parties without witnesses, the Officiality of the Bishoprick of Paris declared that no marriage had taken place. On this judgment being delivered the Empress Josephine summoned Cardinal Fesch to Malmaison, and asked him whether he could bear witness and sign a declaration that she had been married, and lawfully married. "Doubtless," replied the Cardinal, "I "can bear testimony to the fact, and will sign the declaration." Which he accordingly did.

"But," said I to the Prince Primate, "what judgment was "pronounced by the Officiality of Paris?"—"The only proper "one," replied the Prince—"What then became of the declaration of Cardinal Fesch? Was it false?"—"Not in his opinion," said the Prince. "He had acted upon the Italian doctrine, by which Cardinals assume the right of marrying without "witnesses, which however is not recognized in France, where "a marriage is thereby rendered null."

It appears, however, that Josephine, required this declaration only for her own satisfaction, and that she never made any other use of it.

" when I made the proposal. She said she " did not object to my visiting Josephine, only " she did not wish to know it. But whenever " she suspected my intention of going to Mal- " maison, there was no stratagem which she did " not employ for the sake of annoying me. She " never left me; and as these visits seemed to " vex her exceedingly, I did violence to my own " feelings and scarcely ever went to Malmaison. " Still, however, when I did happen to go, I was " sure to encounter a flood of tears and a multi- " tude of contrivances of every kind. Josephine " always kept in view the example of the wife of " Henry IV. who, as she observed, lived in Paris, " visited the court, and attended the coronation " after her divorce. But she remarked that her " own situation was still preferable, for she " already had children of her own, and could not " hope to have more."

Josephine possessed a perfect knowledge of all the different shades of the Emperor's character, and she evinced the most exquisite tact in turning this knowledge to the best account. " For " example," said the Emperor, " she never so- " licited any favour for Eugène, or thanked me " for any that I conferred on him. She never " even showed any additional complaisance or " assiduity at the moment when the greatest ho- " nours were lavished on him. Her grand aim " was to prove that all this was my affair, and

" not hers, and that it tended to my advantage. " Doubtless she entertained the idea that one day " or other I would adopt Eugène as my suc- " cessor."

The Emperor said he was well convinced that he was the individual whom Josephine loved best in all the world; and he added with a smile that he was sure she would have relinquished any assignation to attend him. She never failed to accompany him on all his journies. Neither fatigue nor privation could deter her from following him; and she employed importunity and even artifice to gain her point. " If I stepped " into my carriage at midnight, to set out on the " longest journey, to my surprise I found Jose- " phine all ready prepared, though I had had no " idea of her accompanying me. ' But,' I would " say to her, ' You cannot possibly go, the jour- " ney is too long and will be too fatiguing for " you.'—' Not at all,' Josephine would reply. " ' Besides, I must set out instantly.'—' Well, " I am quite ready.'—' But you must take a great " deal of luggage.'—' Oh, no! every thing is " packed up;' and I was generally obliged to " yield. In a word, Josephine rendered her " husband happy, and constantly proved herself " his sincerest friend. At all times and on all " occasions she manifested the most perfect sub- " mission and devotedness; and thus I shall never

"cease to remember her with tenderness and "gratitude.

"Josephine," continued the Emperor, "ranked "the qualities of submission, obedience and "complaisance in her sex, on a level with politi- "cal address; and she often condemned the con- "duct of her daughter Hortense and her relation "Stephanie, who lived on very bad terms with "their husbands, frequently indulging in caprice, "and pretending to assert their independence.

"Louis," said the Emperor, "had been spoiled "by reading the works of Rousseau. He con- "trived to agree with his wife only for a few "months. There were faults on both sides. On "the one hand, Louis was too teasing in his tem- "per, and on the other Hortense was too volatile. "They were attached to each other at the time "of their marriage, which was agreeable to their "mutual wishes. The union was, however, con- "trived by Josephine, who had her own views "in promoting it. I, on the contrary, would ra- "ther have extended my connection with other "families, and for a moment I had an idea of "forming a union between Louis and a niece of "M. de Talleyrand, who was afterwards Ma- "dame Juste de Noailles."

The most ridiculous reports were circulated respecting an improper intercourse between Napoleon and Hortense, and it was even affirmed that

the latter had had a child by the Emperor. "Such "a connection," said he, "would have been "wholly repugnant to my ideas; and those who "knew any thing of the morality of the Tuile- "ries, must be aware that I need not have been "reduced to so unnatural and revolting a choice. "Louis knew perfectly well the value to which "these reports were entitled; but his vanity and "irratibility of temper, were nevertheless offended "by them, and he frequently alluded to them as "a ground for reproaching his wife.

"But Hortense," continued the Emperor, "the virtuous, the generous, the devoted Hor- "tense, was not entirely faultless in her conduct "towards her husband. This I must acknow- "ledge in spite of all the affection I bore her, "and the sincere attachment which I am sure "she entertained for me. Though Louis' whim- "sical humours were in all probability suffi- "ciently teasing, yet he loved Hortense; and in "such a case a woman should learn to subdue "her own temper, and endeavour to return her "husband's attachment. Had she acted in the "way most conducive to her interests, she might "have avoided her late lawsuit;' secured hap- "piness to herself, and followed her husband to "Holland. Louis would not then have fled from "Amsterdam; and I should not have been com- "pelled to unite his kingdom to mine, a measure "which contributed to ruin my credit in Europe.

" Many other events might also have taken a " different turn.

" The Princess of Baden," continued the Emperor, " pursued a wiser course. On witness- " ing Josephine's divorce, she recollected her " own situation, and used every endeavour to " gain her husband's affections. They were after- " wards a most happy couple.

" Pauline was too careless and extravagant. " She might have been immensely rich consider- " ing all that I gave her; but she gave all away " in her turn. Her mother frequently lectured " her on this subject, and told her that she would " die in some house of charity. *Madame,* how- " ever carried her parsimony to a most ridiculous " extreme. I offered to furnish her with a very " considerable monthly income, on condition that " she would spend it. She on the other hand " was very willing to receive the money, pro- " vided she were permitted to hoard it up. This " arose not so much from covetousness as excess " of foresight; all her fear was that she might " one day be reduced to beggary. She had " known the horrors of want, and they now con- " stantly haunted her imagination. It is how- " ever, but just to acknowledge, that she gave a " great deal to her children in secret. She is in- " deed a kind mother.

" Nevertheless," continued the Emperor, " this " woman who was so reluctant to part with a

" single crown, would willingly have given me " her all, on my return from the Island of Elba; " and after the battle of Waterloo she would ' have surrendered to me all she possessed in the " world, to assist me in re-establishing my affairs. " This she offered to do; and would, without a " murmur, have doomed herself to live on brown " bread.* Loftiness of sentiment still reigned " paramount in her heart: pride and noble am- " bition were not yet subdued by avarice."

Here the Emperor observed, that he had still

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* How justly did the Emperor paint his mother's character! On my return to Europe I was delighted to witness the literal confirmation of all that he had said respecting her.

As soon as I disclosed to Madame Mère the Emperor's real situation, and declared my resolution to exert all my efforts to alleviate his misery, the answer returned to me by the courier was, that her whole fortune was at her son's disposal, and that she would gain her subsistence by entering into service. She at the same time, authorised me, though I was not personally known to her, to draw immediately in her name any sum that I might think necessary for the Emperor's use. Cardinal Fesch also tendered his services in the most affectionate way; and I must take this opportunity of mentioning, that all the different members of the Emperor's family, evinced equal love, zeal, and devotedness. So long as my health permitted me to maintain correspondence with them, I received a multitude of letters, which form altogether a most interesting collection. They reflect honour on the hearts of the writers, and they would have proved a source of consolation to the Emperor, had the restrictions of the English government permitted me to submit them to his perusal.

present in his memory the lessons of pride, which he had received from his mother in his childhood, and which had influenced his conduct through life. The naturally powerful mind of Madame Mère had been exalted by the great events of which she had been a witness; she had seen five or six revolutions; and her house had been thrice burnt to the ground by factions in Corsica.

"Joseph," said the Emperor, "rendered me "no assistance; but he is a very good man. His "wife, Queen Julia, is the most amiable creature "that ever existed. Joseph and I were always "attached to each other, and kept on very good "terms. He loves me sincerely, and I doubt "not that he would do every thing in the world "to serve me. But his qualities are only suited "to private life. He is of a gentle and kind dis- "position, possesses talent and information, and "is altogether a very amiable man. In the dis- "charge of the high duties which I confided to "him, he did the best he could. His intentions "were good; and therefore the principal fault "rested not so much with him as with me, who "raised him above his proper sphere. When "placed in important circumstances, he found his "strength unequal to the task imposed on him.

"The Queen of Naples had chiefly formed her- "self amidst great events. She had solid sense, "strength of character, and boundless ambition. ". . . . She must naturally suffer severely from

" her reverses, more particularly as she may be " said to have been born a Queen. She had not, " like the rest of us," observed the Emperor, " moved in the sphere of private life. Caroline, " Pauline, and Jerome, were still in their child- " hood when I had attained supreme rank in " France; thus they never knew any other estate " than that which they enjoyed during the period " of my power.

" Jerome was an absolute prodigal. He plunged " into boundless extravagance, and the most " odious libertinism. His excuse perhaps may " be his youth, and the temptations by which he " was surrounded. On my return from the Isle " of Elba, he appeared to be much improved, " and to afford great promise. One remarkable " testimony in his favour, was the love with which " he had inspired his wife, whose conduct was " admirable, when after my fall, her father, the " despotic and harsh King of Wurtemberg, wished " to procure her divorce. The Princess then, " with her own hands, honourably inscribed her " name in history."

To our great regret dinner was announced; but the Emperor continued to be very talkative during the whole of the evening. He took a familiar retrospect of various subjects, principally alluding to the conduct of many persons of note during his absence and at the time of his return. He did not retire until midnight, and he closed

the evening's conversation with the following words:—"What is doing at this moment in "France and in Paris? and what shall we our-"selves be doing on this day twelvemonth!"

The Emperor sleeping.—Moral reflections.

20th.—Mr. Balcombe had intimated to me that he was appointed to supply us with what we wanted at the expense of the English Government; but I wrote to inform him that as my own pecuniary circumstances enabled me to dispense with this favour, I was resolved not to avail myself of it. I therefore begged that he would obtain permission from the Governor, to receive from me a bill drawn on some person in England, which could not be transmitted without special permission. I wished to remain free of all obligations, so that nothing might impede me in freely exercising the just and sad privilege of venting my reproaches and imprecations.

The Emperor rode out in the calash very early. On his return, about three o'clock he desired me to follow him to his chamber. "I am low-"spirited, unwell, and fatigued," said he, "sit "down in that arm-chair, and bear me company." He then threw himself on his couch and fell asleep, while I watched beside him. I sat within a few paces of him. His head was uncovered, and I gazed on his brow,—that brow on which were inscribed Marengo, Austerlitz, and a hun-

dred other immortal victories. What were my thoughts and sensations at that moment? They may be imagined; but I cannot attempt to describe them!

In about three quarters of an hour the Emperor awoke. He took a few turns in his chamber, and he then took a fancy to visit the apartments of all the individuals of his suite. When he had minutely considered all the inconveniencies of mine, he said with a smile of indignation:—"Well, I do not think that any christian on "earth can be worse lodged than you are."

After dinner the Emperor attempted to read a part of the *Caravanserail de Sarrazin*. After glancing over a few of the tales, and reading a page from one of them, he said:—"The moral of "this story doubtless is, that *men never change*. "This is not true; they change both to better "and worse. A thousand other maxims which "authors attempt to establish are all equally "false. They affirm that *men are ungrateful;* "but no, they are not so ungrateful as is sup-"posed; and if ingratitude be frequently a sub-"ject of complaint, it is because the benefactor "requires more than he gives.

"It is also said, that *when you know a man's* "*character, you have a key to his whole conduct.* "But this is a mistaken notion. A man may com-"mit a bad action though he be fundamentally "good; he may be led into an act of wicked-

" ness, without being himself wicked. This is " because man is usually actuated not by the " natural bent of his character, but by a secret " momentary passion, which has lain dormant " and concealed in the inmost recesses of his " heart. Another error is to suppose that *the " face is the mirror of the mind.* The truth is, " that it is very difficult to know a man's character. " To avoid being deceived on this point, it is " necessary to judge a person by his actions " only; and it must be by his actions of the " moment, and merely for that moment.

" In truth men have their virtues and their " vices; their heroism and their perversity; men " are neither generally good nor generally bad; " but they possess and practise all that is good " and bad in this world. This is the principle: " natural disposition, education and accidental " circumstances are the applications. I have " always been guided by this opinion, and I have " generally found it correct. However, I was " deceived in 1814, when I believed that France, " at the sight of her dangers, would make com- " mon cause with me; but I was not deceived " in 1815, on my return from Waterloo."

The Emperor felt unwell, and retired very early.

The Governor arrests one of our servants—The Bible.

21st.—The Emperor continued indisposed; but we nevertheless took our usual airing in the calash. On our return we were informed that the Governor had been to Longwood and had himself arrested one of our domestics, who had recently quitted the service of Deputy-Governor Skelton, and who had a few days since been engaged by General Montholon. On hearing this, the Emperor exclaimed: "What turpitude! what "meanness! A Governor . . . . . an English Lieu- "tenant General himself to arrest a servant! "Really this conduct is too disgusting!"

The Grand Marshal joined us and announced the arrival of a store ship, which had left England on the 8th of March.

After dinner the Emperor asked what we would read, and we all decided for the Bible. "This is certainly very edifying," said the Emper; "it would never be guessed in Europe." He read to us the book of Joshua, observing at almost every town or village that he named: "I encamped there; I carried that place by as- "sault; I gave battle here, &c."

Instances of the caprice of authority—Princess Stephanie of Baden, &c.

22d. In course of to-day a great deal was said about the sailors of the Northumberland, who had

been given to us as domestics, and who we now understood were to be withdrawn from our service. They had, however, been engaged by a reciprocal contract by which both parties were bound for the space of a year. But we are without the pale of ordinary law. The Governor affirmed that the Admiral wanted the men; and the Admiral said that he would allow them to remain with us if the Governor pleased. The sailors were taken away and soldiers were sent in their stead; but these were also removed and sent back again, ordered away a second time and again sent back to us. We were unable to guess the meaning of all these changes.

While I was in the Emperor's apartment waiting for the announcement of dinner, the conversation fell on Madame Campan's establishment, the young persons who had been educated in it, and the fortunes which the Emperor had conferred on some of them. He particularly alluded to Stephanie de Beauharnais, afterwards Princess of Baden, to whom he said he was much attached. He entered into many details respecting her.

Princess Stephanie of Baden lost her mother in her childhood. She was left in the care of an English lady, her mother's intimate friend, who was very rich and without children, and who confided the education of her *protegée* to some old nuns in the south of France, I believe at Montauban.

Napoleon, during his consulship, one day heard Josephine mention this circumstance, while alluding to her young relation Stephanie. "How can "you permit this?" said he. "How can you "suffer one of your name to be supported by a "foreigner, an Englishwoman, who must at this "moment be regarded as our enemy? Are you "not afraid that your memory will one day suffer "by this?" A courier was immediately despatched to bring the young lady to the Tuileries; but the nuns refused to part with her. Napoleon, however, instituted the necessary legal forms, and a second courier was speedily sent to the Prefect of the district, with orders instantly to seize the person of the young lady in the name of the law.

Owing to the circumstances of the times, such was the influence of certain systems of education, and of the opinions which they inspired, that Stephanie's removal was to herself a source of deep regret; and she beheld not without terror him who declared himself her relative, and who was about to become her benefactor. She was placed in the establishment of Madame Campan, at St. Germain; all sorts of masters were appointed to superintend her education, and on her introduction to the world, her beauty, wit, accomplishments and virtues, rendered her an object of universal admiration.

The Emperor adopted her as his daughter, and

gave her in marriage to the hereditary Prince of Baden. This union was for several years far from being happy. In course of time, however, the causes of difference gradually vanished; the Prince and Princess became attached to each other, and from that moment they had only to regret the happiness of which they had deprived themselves during the early years of their marriage.

At the conferences of Erfurt, the Princess of Baden received the most marked attentions from her brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander. During our disasters in 1813, persons who were at the head of political affairs, dreading the result of an interview between Alexander and the Princess of Baden, at Manheim, succeeded in depriving the Princess of the regard of her august relative, by circulating false reports to the prejudice of her character. Thus, when Alexander arrived at Manheim in his triumphal march to Paris, he by no means treated Princess Stephanie with due respect. His conduct was calculated to wound her feelings; but it could not humble her pride. On this occasion, the conduct pursued by the Prince of Baden reflected true glory on his character. The most august personages surrounded him, and urged him to repudiate the wife, whom he had received from the hands of Napoleon. But the Prince, with true nobleness of sentiment, rejected the idea, observing, that he would never

commit an act of baseness, which would be as repugnant to his affections as to his honour. This generous Prince, to whom we did not render sufficient justice in Paris, afterwards fell a victim to a tedious and painful illness. The Princess personally attended on her husband throughout the whole of his sufferings, performing with her own hands all the minute services that his situation required: her devoted attachment gained for her the admiration of her relatives and subjects.

Princess Stephanie of Baden shed a lustre over her exalted station. She conferred honour on her character as a wife and a daughter. She at all times professsed the highest veneration for him, who, when in the enjoyment of boundless power, had benevolently adopted her as his child.

The Emperor's maxims with respect to Sovereignty.—The expulsion of Portalis from the Council of State.—Accidents which occurred to the Emperor at St. Cloud, Auxonne, and Marly.

23d.—The Emperor desired me to attend him in his Chamber, about two o'clock. He remarked that I did not look well. He was himself ill, and had had but little sleep during the preceding night. He began to dress, saying that he should probably feel better when he had finished his toilette. We then went out to walk in the garden. The turn of the conversation led the Emperor to remark that our manners required that a

sovereign should be regarded only as the blessing of his people; his acts of severity must be overlooked in consideration of his acts of clemency; mercy must still be held to be his chief attribute. In Paris, he observed, he had sometimes been reproached for conversations and words which, in truth, ought not to have escaped him. But he added that his personal situation, his extreme activity, and most of his acts, which really proceeded from himself, ought to have made amends for many things. He rendered justice to the delicate tact which distinguished the inhabitants of the French capital; no where, he said, could be found so much wit or more taste. He reproached himself for the expulsion of Portalis from the Council of State. I, who was present at the scene, told him that I thought his manner was somewhat paternal.* "I was perhaps too "severe," resumed he; "I should have checked "myself before I ordered him to be gone. He "attempted no justification, and therefore the "scene should have ended, merely by my saying "*it is well.* His punishment should have awaited "him at home. Anger is always unbecoming in "a sovereign. But perhaps I was excusable in "my council where I might consider myself in "the bosom of my own family; or perhaps, after "all, I may be justly condemned for this act.

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* See Vol. I. Part I. p. 282.

" Every one has his fault; nature will exert her " sway over us all."

He said he also reproached himself for his conduct to M. de G . . . . . at the Tuileries, during one of the grand Sunday audiences, and in presence of all the Court. " But in this instance," said he, " I was provoked to the utmost extreme. My " anger burst forth against my inclination. I had " given G . . . . . the command of a legion of " the capital, which I was about to defend. I " afterwards learned that he rejoiced in our dis- " asters, and invoked them, though I did not " know this at the period to which I am now al- " luding. The enemy was advancing upon us, " and G . . . . . coolly wrote to inform me that " his health would not permit him to take the " command; though, as a courtier, he presented " himself to me in perfect activity and good " spirits. I was very indignant at his conduct; " but I repressed my anger, and resolved to take " no notice of him. He, however, on three or " four occasions sought an opportunity of throw- " ing himself in my way. I could no longer " stifle my rage, and the bomb exploded. How, " Sir," . . . . . .

. . . . . .

I omit the rest of the story; it is too long.

" But, concluded the Emperor, what distressed " me most of all, was the situation of G . . . . .'s

" son, who was my chamberlain, and of whom I " had no reason to complain."

The Emperor then spoke of the Faubourg St. Germain, and questioned me respecting many families and individuals belonging to it. He happened to mention the name of Madame de S . . . . ., I observed that she had constantly evinced great attachment to the Emperor, for which she was now doubtless severely punished. The Emperor was not aware of the extent and sincerity of her zeal and devotedness; though he had been very much moved by her generous resolution of remaining with the Empress Josephine. He had, he said, to reproach himself for not having done any thing for Madame de S . . . . She must have been unfortunate in the choice of the moment at which she solicited her husband's nomination to the Senate.

I had, from my childhood, been intimately acquainted with Madame de S . . . . . ; and she made me her confidential friend. I related to the Emperor the anecdote of her nomination to the post of *dame du palais*. Her husband one morning introduced her to the Empress Josephine, who returned her thanks for having made an application to enter her service. This was a thunderbolt to Madame de S . . . . ., who had never dreamed of making such a solicitation; and who, in the natural timidity of her disposition, pre-

served silence. At that time I was certainly far from approving or advising her acceptance of the post; but I nevertheless rendered her a real act of service by withholding a letter of refusal which she had confided to me, without the knowledge of her friends, and which might have proved fatal to the intrigues of those by whom the affair had been brought about.

The Emperor asked me what could have given rise to this repugnance on the part of Madame de S . . . . . to enter the service of the Empress; I replied, that it was occasioned by the connection she had had with the royal family. "She was right," said he, "how could her husband think of placing her in a situation so hostile "to her feelings? . . . . . A similar case occurred in one of my nominations of Chamberlains. "One individual begged that I would be pleased "to allow him to decline the honour, because, as "he said, he had been first Gentleman of the "Chamber to Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII. "This was perfectly reasonable on his part; but "how could I possibly listen to such a solicitation? . . . . . It was a proof of want of delicacy in those who proposed his nomination; "but what had I to do with that? Could I enter "into details of this kind? The important affairs "that claimed my attention would not permit me "to descend to matters of this sort.

"However," continued the Emperor, "if Ma-

" dame de S . . . . . had gone the right way to
" work, she might have obtained all she asked
" for. But she never evinced any particular in-
" terest in what she solicited, and made applica-
" tions only in favour of individuals who had not
" proved themselves very deserving; among others
" she recommended to my notice a man, who
" after being one of the King's Peers, wished to
" be made one of mine. On my return from
" Elba, his daughter came to assure me, that if
" I would confer this favour upon him, he would
" pledge himself to act with zeal in my service,
" acknowledging, as he said, no interests but
" those of the nation. All this was of course
" fair enough."

About four o'clock the Emperor got into the calash; during our usual ride he mentioned several serious accidents by which, at one time or other, his life had been endangered.

At St. Cloud he once wished to drive his calash six-in-hand. The horses were startled by Aide-de-camp Cafarelli, inadvertently crossing the road in front of them. Before the Emperor had time to recover the reins, the horses set off at full speed, and the calash, which rolled along with extreme velocity, struck against a railing. The Emperor was thrown out to the distance of eight or ten feet, and lay stretched on the ground with his face downwards. He was, he said, dead for a few seconds. He felt the mo-

ment at which life became extinct, which he called the *negative moment*. The first individual of the suite who alighted immediately revived him by a touch. He observed, that the mere contact suddenly restored him to life, as in the night-mare, the sufferer is relieved as soon as he can utter a cry.

On another occasion, the Emperor said he had nearly been drowned. When in garrison at Auxonne in 1786, while he was one day amusing himself with swimming, a sudden numbness came over him, he lost his self-possession, and being alone, he was carried along by the current in a senseless state. He felt life escape him, and even heard his comrades on the shore call out that he was drowned, and hasten in quest of boats to drag for his body. In this case a sudden shock restored him to life. His breast struck against a sand-bank; and by a miracle, his head being above the water, he recovered himself sufficiently to swim ashore. The water dislodged itself from his stomach; he regained the spot where he had left his clothes, and having dressed himself, he got home, while his friends were still in search of his body.

Another time while hunting the wild boar at Marly, all his suite was put to flight; it was like the rout of an army. The Emperor, with Soult and Berthier maintained their ground against three enormous boars. "We killed all three;

" but I received a hurt from my adversary, and " nearly lost this finger," said the Emperor, pointing to the third finger of his left hand, which indeed bore the mark of a severe wound. " But " the most laughable circumstance of all was, to " see the multitude of men, surrounded by their " dogs, screening themselves behind the three " heroes, and calling out lustily :—*Save the Em-* " *peror! Save the Emperor!* while not one ad- " vanced to my assistance."

Political Reflections.

24th.—The Emperor went out only to take an airing in the calash. We drove for nearly an hour and a half, proceeding at a slow pace, and we lengthened our airing by going twice over the limits of our usual ride. The Emperor conversed on politics. The newspapers which we had received three days ago, furnished the subject of discussion.

In France, he observed, the patriots were emigrating rapidly; and there seemed to be a wish to encourage their emigration from the circumstance of their property not having been confiscated, &c. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The Emperor thought he could perceive from the debates in the English Parliament, that there was a reserved idea respecting the division of

France; this was a severe shock to his feelings. "Every one possessing a true French heart," said he, "must now be overwhelmed in despair. "An immense majority of the population of "France, must be plunged in the deepest sorrow. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "why am I not placed in "some remote sphere? On a soil truly free and "independent, where no external influence could "be dreaded! How would I astonish the uni- "verse! I would address a proclamation to the "French; I would say to them;—You are lost "if you are not united. The odious, the inso- "lent foreigner is about to parcel you out and to "annihilate you. Frenchmen arise! make com- "mon cause, at all hazards,— rally, if it must "be so, *even around the Bourbons* . . . . . "let the existence, the safety of France, take "place of every other consideration! . . ."

He thought, however, that Russia must oppose this division, as she would thereby have to fear the growing strength and consolidation of Germany against her. Some one present remarked, that Austria must oppose it also from the apprehension of wanting the necessary support in case of any attempts on the part of Russia. It was moreover observed, that in such a case, Austria might probably serve the cause of the King of Rome, by setting him forward. "Yes," replied the Emperor, "as an instrument of menace, "perhaps; but never as the object of her good

" wishes. Austria must have too much cause to " dread him. The King of Rome will be the " man of the people ; he will be the champion of " Italy. Thus it will be the policy of Austria to " take his life. This will not probably be at- " tempted during the reign of his grandfather, " who is a good man ;—but the Emperor Francis " cannot live for ever. If however the manners " of the present age should preclude the possi- " bility of an attempt to murder him, they will " endeavour to brutalize his faculties. Or finally, " if he should escape both physical and moral " assassination,—if his mother's cares and his " own natural endowments should rescue him " from all those dangers, then . . . . then . . ." (he repeated several times, as if absorbed in re- flection) " why then . . . . But who can calcu- " late on the destinies of any one!"

The Emperor then turned the conversation to England, by remarking, that she alone was in- terested in the destruction of France ; and in the plenitude and versatility of his fancy, he touched on all the various plans which she was likely to adopt for that purpose. She could not increase the power of Belgium, he said, otherwise Ant- werp would become as formidable to her as it had been under his reign. She must, he observed, leave the Bourbons in the centre, with only eight or ten millions of inhabitants, and surround them with Princes, Dukes or Kings of Normandy,

Brittany, Aquitaine, and Provence; so that Cherburg, Brest, Garonne, and the Mediterranean would be in the possession of different sovereigns. This, he said, would make the French monarchy retrograde several ages, would restore it to its situation under the first Capets, and would provide for the Bourbons a few centuries of new and laborious efforts.—"But, fortunately," observed the Emperor, "before England can arrive "at this point, she will have to surmount almost "invincible obstacles,—the uniformity of the di- "vision of the territory in departments, the simi- "litude of language, the identity of manners, the "universality of the code, the generality of my "lyceums, and the glory and splendour which I "have left behind me;—these are so many indis- "soluble knots, and truly national institutions.

"A great nation like France cannot easily be "parcelled out, or if it should, it will be con- "stantly re-uniting and seeking to recover its "importance; like Ariosto's giant, who runs "after his limbs and even his head, as they are "lopped off, and after putting them on begins to "fight again."—"But Sire," said some one present, "the power of the giant depended on the "plucking out of a single hair; and in like man- "ner Napoleon may be said to be the hair on "which depended the existence of France."—"No," resumed the Emperor, "my memory and "my ideas would still survive.—But," continued

he, " England on the contrary, would in course " of time have become a mere appendage to " France, had the latter continued under my " dominion. England was by nature intended " to be one of our Islands, as well as Oleron or " Corsica. On what trifles does the fate of Em- " pires depend! How petty and insignificant are " our revolutions in the grand organization of " the universe! If instead of entering upon the " Egyptian expedition, I had invaded Ireland; " if some slight derangement of my plans, had " not thrown obstacles in the way of my Bou- " logne enterprise, what would England have " been to-day? What would have been the situa- " tion of the continent, and the whole political " world?"

Voltaire's Brutus.

25th.—After dinner the Emperor read Œdipus, which he admired exceedingly. He next took up Brutus, of which he gave us a very remarkable analysis. He observed that Voltaire seemed not to have entered into the right feeling for his subject. " The Romans," said he, " were guided " by patriotism as we are by honour. Voltaire " has not pourtrayed the real sublimity of Bru- " tus, sacrificing his sons, for the welfare of his " country, and in spite of the pangs of paternal " affection. He has made him a monster of pride, " decreeing the death of his children, for the sake

" of preserving his power, his name, and his " celebrity. The other characters of the tragedy " he added, are equally misconceived, Tullia is " described as a fury who takes advantage of " her situation; and not as a woman of tender " sentiment, who might be led into crime by " seduction and dangerous influence."

French Colony on the banks of the River St. Lawrence.—The Emperor might have proceeded to America.—Carnot at the time of the abdication.

26th.—The Emperor sent for me about two o'clock. He was not well and was much fatigued. We looked over a few newspapers.

In these papers it was stated that Joseph Bonaparte had made extensive purchases of land on the north of the State of New York, on the river St. Lawrence, and that a great number of French families had grouped round him and were soon likely to form a numerous colony. It was remarked that the spot seemed to have been fixed on with a view to the interests of the United States, and in opposition to the policy of England. In the south, in Louisiana, for example, the refugees could have looked forward only to the enjoyment of repose and domestic happiness; but in their present situation they must soon naturally become objects of attraction to the population of Canada, which was already

French, and they must ultimately form a strong barrier, or even a hostile point against the English, who yet possess the dominion of that part of America. The Emperor said that the establishment would in a few years present a numerous population distinguished for all sorts of useful knowledge. If they do their duty, said he, they will transmit from their colony excellent writings, victorious refutations of the system which now triumphs in Europe. When at the island of Elba, the Emperor had entertained a similar idea.

He then proceeded to calculate all that he had given to the different members of his family; and observed that they might have amassed considerable sums of money. For his part, he said, he had nothing; if in course of time he might find himself in possession of any property in Europe, he should be wholly indebted for it to the foresight and contrivance of some of his friends.

If the Emperor had gone to America he intended to have collected all his relatives around him; and he supposed that they might have realized at least forty millions of francs. This point would have become the nucleus of a national union; a second France. Before the conclusion of a year, the events of Europe would have collected around him a hundred millions of francs and sixty thousand individuals, most of them possessing wealth, talent, and information. The Emperor said he should have liked to realize

that dream; it would have been a renewal of his glory.

" America," continued he, " was in all respects " our proper asylum. It is an immense continent, " possessing the advantages of a peculiar system " of freedom. If a man be troubled with melan- " choly, he may get into a coach, and drive a " thousand leagues, enjoying all the way, the " pleasure of a common traveller. In America " you may be on a footing of equality with every " one; you may, if you please, mingle with the " crowd, without inconvenience, retaining your " own manners, your own language, your own " religion, &c."

He said it was impossible he could henceforth consider himself as a private man in Europe; his name was too popular throughout the continent. He was in some way or other connected with every people, and belonged to every country.

" As for you," said he to me smiling, " your " fate seemed naturally to lead you to the shores " of the Oronooko or to Mexico, where the recol- " lection of *the good Las Cases*, is not yet obli- " terated. You would there have enjoyed all " you could have wished. The destinies of some " men seem to be marked out. Gregoire, for in- " stance, has only to go to Hayti, and he would " immediately be made a Pope."

At the time of the Emperor's second abdication, an American in Paris wrote to him as fol-

lows:—"While you were at the head of a nation, you could perform any miracle, you might conceive any hopes; but now you can do nothing more in Europe. Fly to the United States! I know the hearts of the leading men, and the sentiments of the people of America. You will there find a second country, and every source of consolation." The Emperor would not listen to such a suggestion. He might, doubtless, by dint of speed or disguise, have gained Brest, Nantes, Bordeaux, or Toulon, and in all probability have reached America; but he conceived that either disguise or flight would be derogatory from his dignity. He thought himself bound to prove to all Europe his full confidence in the French people, and their extreme attachment to him, by passing through his dominions at such a crisis, merely in the quality of a private man, and unattended by any escort. But what above all influenced him at that critical moment was, the hope that impending dangers would open the eyes of his subjects, that they would rally around him, and that he might save the country. This hope caused him to linger at Malmaison, and to postpone his departure, after he had reached Rochefort. If he is now at St. Helena, he owes his captivity to this sentiment, of which he was unable to divest himself. Subsequently, when he had no other resource than to accept the hospitality of the Belerophon, it was not perhaps without a feel-

ing of inward satisfaction, that he found himself, by the force of circumstances, irresistibly led to fix his abode in England, where he might enjoy the happiness of being still but little removed from France. He was well aware that he could not be free in England; but he hoped to be heard, and then a chance would at least have been open to the impressions which he might create. "The English Ministers," said he, "who "are the enemies of their country, and who have "sold her to foreigners, thought they had too "much cause to dread my presence. They con- "ceived that my opinion in London would be "more powerful than the whole opposition: that "it would have compelled them either to change "their system, or resign their places; and to "keep themselves in place, they basely sacri- "ficed the true interests of their country, the "triumph, the glory of her laws, the peace of "the world, the welfare of Europe, the happi- "ness and the benedictions of posterity."

In the course of conversation during the evening, the Emperor once more adverted to Waterloo, and described his anxiety and indecision before he came to a final resolution respecting his abdication. I pass over a multitude of details, lest I should be led into repetition; I note down only the following:—

The Emperor's speech to his ministers was the literal prophecy of all that subsequently took

place. Carnot was the only one who seemed to take a right view of the case. He opposed the abdication, which he said was a death-blow to France; and he wished that we should defend ourselves even to annihilation. Carnot was the only one who maintained this opinion; all the rest were for the abdication. That measure was determined, and Carnot, covering his face with his hands, burst into tears.

At another moment the Emperor said, "I am "not a God: I cannot do all by my own single "efforts: I cannot save the nation without the "help of the nation. I am certain that the people "then entertained these sentiments, and that "they are now suffering undeservedly. It was "the host of intriguers, and men possessing titles "and offices, who were really guilty. That which "misled them, and which ruined me, was the "mild system of 1814, the benignity of the re-"storation; they looked for a repetition of this "lenity. The change of the Sovereign had be-"come a mere joke. They all calculated on re-"maining just as they had been before, whether "I should be succeeded by Louis XVIII. or any "other. These stupid, selfish, and egotistical "men looked upon the great event as merely a "competition, about which they cared but little; "and they thought only of their individual in-"terests, when a deadly war of principles was "about to be commenced. And why should I

" disguise the truth? There were among the in-
" dividuals whom I had elevated, and by whom
" I was surrounded, a number of . . . . . !"
Then, turning to me, he added, " I am not allud-
" ing to your Faubourg St. Germain, with re-
" spect to which the matter was totally different,
" and for which some excuse may be found.
" During my first reverses in 1814, the greatest
" traitors were not the individuals connected
" with that party, of whom I had no great cause
" to complain; and who, therefore, on my re-
" turn, were not bound to me by any particular
" ties of gratitude. I had abdicated, the King
" was restored. They had but returned to their
" old attachments, and had only renewed their
" allegiance."

State of French Manufactures.—On Physiognomy.

27th.—The Emperor went out about 2 o'clock; the weather was very fine. The season is sensibly different from that which we had on our arrival; the air is infinitely more pure. The Emperor was, however, very ill, and very low-spirited. He walked to the extremity of the wood, while we were waiting for the calash. We took our usual drive.

The conversation turned on the state of manufactures in France. The Emperor said he had brought them to a degree of prosperity hitherto

unknown; and which was scarcely credited in Europe, or even in France. This was a subject of wonder to foreigners on their arrival. The Abbé de Montesquion, he said, was constantly expressing his astonishment at this circumstance, the proofs of which he had in his own hands, when he became Minister of the Interior.

The Emperor was the first individual in France who said: Agriculture, first; industry, that is to say, manufactures next; and, finally, trade, which must arise out of the superabundance of the two first. He also defined and put into practice, in a clear and connected way, the systems most conducive to the interests of our manufacturers and merchants. To him we were indebted for the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and cotton. He offered a reward of 1,000,000 of francs to the individual who should discover a method of spinning flax like cotton; and he doubted not that this discovery would have been made. The fatality of circumstances alone prevented this grand idea from being carried into execution.

"The old aristocracy, those enemies to our "prosperity," said the Emperor, "exhausted all "their wit in stupid jokes and frivolous caricatures "on these subjects. But the English had no cause "to laugh; they felt the blow, and have not yet "recovered from it."

A short time before dinner the Emperor sent for me to attend him in his chamber. He was

very unwell; he tried to converse, but he had not strength. He attributed his indisposition to his having drunk some bad wine, which had newly arrived. He said that Corvesart, Bertholet, and other physicians and chemists, had frequently said that if he experienced the least unpleasant flavour, on first tasting his wine, he must by no means suffer it pass over his throat.

The turn of the conversation led him to express his surprise at the contrast between the character of the mind, and the expression of the countenance which was observable in some individuals. "This "proves," said he, "that we must not judge of a "man by his face; we can know him only by his "conduct. What countenances have I had to judge "of in the course of my life! What odd exam- "ples of physiognomy have come under my ob- "servation! And what rash opinions have I "heard on this subject! Thus I invariably made "it a rule never to be influenced either by fea- "tures or by words. Still, however, it must be "confessed, that we sometimes find curious re- "semblances between the countenance and the "character. For instance, on looking at the face "of our *Monseigneur*, (meaning the Governor,) "who would not recognise the features of a *tiger-* "*cat!* I will mention another instance. There was "a man in my service, who was employed about "my person. I liked him very much; but I was "obliged to dismiss him, because I several times

" caught him with his hands in my pockets. He " committed his thefts too impudently: let any " one look at this man, and they must admit that " he has a *magpie's eye.*"

While we were conversing on the subject of physiognomy, some one remarked, that Mirabeau speaking of Pastoret's face said: " it is a " compound of the *tiger* and the *calf;* but the " *calf* predominates." At this the Emperor laughed heartily, and said it was strictly true.

The Emperor wished to dine alone in his chamber. He sent for me about ten o'clock. He was then better; and he looked over several of the books which lay scattered upon his couch. He began to read Racine's Alexander, of which he expressed his dislike; and he afterwards took up Andromache, which is one of his favourite pieces.

Marks of respect shewn to the Emperor by the English soldiers.

28th.—The Emperor went out about two o'clock. The weather was exceedingly pleasant. We took nearly an hour's drive in the calash. It had been at first proposed that the Emperor should ride on horseback; for his health was suffering from the want of that exercise. But he would not consent to go out on horseback; he said that to ride backward and forward within the limits marked out to him was like being confined

in a riding-school, and he could not endure it. However, on our return home, we succeeded in changing his determination. We all attended him, and we reached the summit of that part of Goat-Hill which separates the horizon of the town from that of Longwood. On our way back we passed in front of the English camp; this was the first time we had passed it since our residence at Longwood. The soldiers immediately quitted their various occupations, and eagerly formed themselves in a line as we passed along. "What "European soldier," said the Emperor, "would "not be inspired with respect at my approach!" He knew this, and therefore carefully avoided passing the English camp, lest he should be accused of wishing to excite this sentiment. We all very much enjoyed the ride, and we returned home about five o'clock. The Emperor was a little fatigued.

For some time past he has relinquished his regular dictations. He saw some skittles which had been made by the servants for their own amusement. He ordered them to be brought to us, and we played several games with them. The Emperor won a napoleon and a half from me. He made me pay the debt, and then threw the money to the servant who had attended us for the purpose of running after the ball.

Corsica.—Remark made by Paoli.—Magnanimous conduct of Madame Mere.—Lucien intended to be Governor-general of Corsica.—The First Consul's Court.—Madame de Chevreuse.— The Emperor receives a letter from his mother.

29th.—For some time past, at our urgent solicitation, the Emperor every evening made a promise that he would ride on horseback early on the following morning; but whenever the appointed hour arrived he invariably changed his determination. This morning he was in the garden by half-past eight o'clock; and he sent for me. The conversation turned on Corsica, and was maintained for upwards of an hour.

" One's native country," said he, " is always " dear. Even St. Helena may have charms to " those who were born here." To the Emperor, therefore, Corsica presented a thousand attractions. He described the grand scenery of the country, and remarked that islanders always present originality of character; because their situation tends to protect them against invasion, and precludes that perpetual intercourse with foreigners which is experienced in continental states. The inhabitants of mountainous regions, he said, always possessed a degree of energy, and a turn of mind peculiar to themselves. He dwelt much on the charms of his native country, which from his early recollections, was to him

superior to any other spot in the world. He thought that the very smell of the earth would enable him to distinguish his native land, even were he conducted blindfold to her shores; there was in it something peculiar which he had never observed elsewhere. Corsica was the scene of all his early attachments; he had there passed the happy years of his childhood, freely roaming among the hills and vallies, enjoying the honours and pleasures of hospitality. He traced different lines of family connections, who, he said, extended the spirit of animosity and revenge, even to the seventh degree; and he observed that a young woman in Corsica thought she enhanced the value of her dowry, by enumerating the list of her cousins. He recollected with pride that when only twenty years of age, he had accompanied Paoli on a grand excursion to Porte di Nuovo. Paoli's retinue was numerous; he was escorted by upwards of 500 of his followers on horseback. Napoleon rode by his side, and as they went along, Paoli pointed out to him the different positions and the places which had been the scenes of resistance or triumph during the war for Corsican liberty. He related to him all the particulars of that glorious conflict; and on hearing the remarks and opinions which fell from his young companion: he said, "Oh Na-
"poleon! there is nothing modern in your cha-

" racter! you are formed entirely on Plutarch's " model."

When Paoli manifested his determination to surrender the island to the English, the Bonaparte family continued to head the French party, and had the fatal honour of being *threatened* with *a march* of the inhabitants of the island, that is to say, they were attacked by a levy in mass: 12 or 15,000 peasants made a descent from the mountains on Ajaccio. The house occupied by Napoleon's family was pillaged and burnt, and the vines and flocks were destroyed. Madame, surrounded by a few faithful friends, wandered for some time on the sea-shore, and was at length obliged to fly to France. The Bonaparte family had always been much attached to Paoli, and he in his turn had professed particular respect towards Madame. It is, however, but just to remark, that he employed persuasion before he resorted to force. " Renounce this opposition," said he, " it will prove the ruin of yourself, your " family, and your fortune; you will bring irre- " parable misery on yourself." The Emperor, indeed, affirmed that but for the chances of the revolution, the family could never have recovered from their misfortunes. Madame, like another Cornelia, heroically replied, " that she, her chil- " dren, and her relatives would only obey two " laws, namely, those of duty and honour. Had

" old Archdeacon Lucien been living at that time, " his heart would have bled at the idea of the " danger of his sheep, goats, and cattle, and his " prudence would not have failed to allay the " storm."

Madame Bonaparte, the victim of her patriotism and her devotedness to France, expected to be received at Marseilles as an emigrant of distinction; but there she scarcely found herself in safety; and to her astonishment discovered that the spirit of patriotism existed only among the very lowest classes of the people.

Napoleon, in his youth wrote a history of Corsica, which he dedicated to the Abbé Raynal. This production gained for him some flattering compliments and letters from the Abbé, who was the fashionable author of the day. This history has been lost.

The Emperor remarked, that during the war in Corsica, all the French who came to the Island formed some decided opinion on the character of the mountaineers. Some said, that they were full of enthusiasm, others regarded them merely as bands of robbers.

It was said in the Senate at Paris, that France had chosen a ruler from among a people whom the Romans would not take for their slaves. " The Senator intended this remark as an insult " to me," said the Emperor; " but he forgot " how high a compliment he was thus paying to

" the Corsicans. He spoke truly; the Romans " never purchased Corsican slaves: they knew it " was impossible to subdue the Corsicans to the " yoke of slavery."

During the war for liberty in Corsica, some one proposed the singular plan of cutting down and burning all the chesnut trees, the fruit of which furnished sustenance to the mountaineers. By this means it was hoped they would be compelled to descend to the plains to sue for food and peace. Happily, said the Emperor, this was one of those impracticable plans which can be realized only on paper. From very different motives, Napoleon during the early period of his life, had constantly declaimed against the goats, which are very numerous in the Island, and commit great ravages among the trees. He wished them to be entirely extirpated. On this subject he had some terrible disputes with his uncle, Archdeacon Lucien, who possessed numerous herds of goats, and who defended them like a patriarch. In his rage, he reproached his nephew with being an *innovator*, and blamed *philosophic ideas*, for the danger with which his goats were threatened.

Paoli died in London at a very old age: he lived to see Napoleon First Consul and Emperor. The Emperor expressed his regret at not having recalled him. " That," said he " would have " been highly gratifying to me. Such an act

" would have been a real trophy of honour. But " my mind was absorbed in important affairs; I " rarely had time to indulge my personal feel- " ings."

After the Emperor's return in 1815, when Lucien arrived in Paris, Joseph advised the Emperor to appoint him Governor-General of Corsica. This measure was even determined on; the importance and hurry of passing events alone prevented its execution. " If Lucien had gone to Corsica," said the Emperor, " he would still have remained " master of the Island, and what resources would " it not have presented to our persecuted pa- " triots?—To how many unfortunate families " would not Corsica have afforded an assylum? " He repeated that he had perhaps committed a " fault at the time of his abdication, in not re- " serving to himself the sovereignty of Corsica, " together with the possession of some millions of " the civil list; and in not having conveyed all his " valuables to Toulon, whence nothing could have " impeded his passage. In Corsica, he would " have found himself at home; the whole popu- " lation would have been as it were, his own " family. He might have disposed of every arm " and every heart. Thirty thousand or even " 50,000 allied troops could not have subdued " him." No sovereign in Europe would have undertaken such a task. But it was precisely the happy security of the situation that deterred him

from availing himself of it. He would not have it said, that amidst the wreck of the French people, which he plainly foresaw, he alone had been dexterous enough to gain the port.

Some one here observed that, according to the general opinion, he might, in 1814, have secured the possession of Corsica instead of the island of Elba. "Certainly I might," replied the Emperor, "and those who are well acquainted with "the affairs of Fontainbleau will be surprised "that I did not. . . . . I might then have re- "served to myself whatever I pleased. The "humour of the moment led me to decide in "favour of Elba. Had I possessed Corsica, it "is probable that my return in 1815 would never "have been thought of. Even at Elba those "whose interest it was to keep me there, decreed "my return by their own misgovernment and the "non-fulfilment of the engagements which they "had entered into with me."

We now reminded the Emperor of his intention of riding on horseback; but he said he would rather walk and chat. He ordered his breakfast, after which we conversed for some time on the old court, the nobility who composed it, their pretensions, the King's equipages, &c.; and all this was compared with what the Emperor had himself introduced.

The Emperor then reverted to the period of his Consulship, and described the difficulties which

he had experienced in forming the kind of court which was then kept up at the Tuileries. On his arrival there, he was resolved to obliterate the recollection of the manners and conflicts of the period to which he had just succeeded. But he had hitherto passed his life in camps:—he had just returned from Egypt and had quitted France when young and inexperienced. He was a stranger to every one, and he at first found this a source of great embarrassment. Lebrun acted as his guide during the first years of his Consulship. Bankers and money-speculators were at that time persons of the first consequence. No sooner did the Consul enter upon his functions, than a host of these individuals crowded round him and eagerly offered to advance him considerable sums of money. This conduct though seemingly dictated only by generosity was not, however without interested views. They were for the most part men of bad character; and their offers were rejected. The First Consul had a natural dislike of men of this profession. He said he had laid down the firm determination to act upon other principles than those of Scherer, Barras, and the Directory. He was anxious that probity should become the main spring and feature of his new government. The Consul was also immediately surrounded by the wives of these money-lenders, who were all beautiful and elegant women. Indeed a money-lender at that time seemed to

regard it as indispensably necessary that his wife should be a woman of fascinating manners: it was a circumstance that tended materially to assist his speculations. But the prudent Lebrun was at hand to direct the young Telemachus. He resolved to exclude this sort of society from the Tuileries. It was, however, no such easy matter to assemble a suitable circle around the Consul: nobles were rejected in order to avoid giving offence to public opinion; and contractors were excluded, with the view of purifying the morals of the new era. These two classes being thus shut out, of course no very distinguished society remained; and the Tuileries for some time presented a sort of magic-lantern, very varied and changeable.

At Moscow, the Vice-Roy happened to meet with some letters written by Princess Dolgoruki, who had been at Paris at the period here alluded to. This correspondence gave a very favourable picture of the Tuileries. The Princess observed, that it was not precisely a court, nor yet exactly a camp; but something perfectly new in its kind. She added, that the First Consul did not carry his hat under his arm, nor wear a dress-sword by his side; but that he was nevertheless a swordsman. "However," continued the Emperor, "such "is the effect of evil-report, that, owing to some "such expressions as these having been misre-"presented to me, Princess Dolgoruki was very

" unjustly treated. I ordered her, at that time, " to quit France. We thought her hostile to the " principles of our government; but we were, *as* " *it may be seen,* mistaken. Madame G . . . ., " the mistress of M. de T . . . . . ., for " he had not yet made her his wife, greatly con- " tributed to alienate from us the regard of the " Russians."

The Emperor observed, that on his return from Elba, he had experienced far less embarrassment in composing his court. " It was, indeed," said he, " all ready formed, by the ladies whom I termed " *my widows.* These were Madame Duroc, the " Duchess of Istria; Mesdames Regnier, Lagrand, " and all the other widows of my first generals. " I told the Princesses who consulted me on the " method of recomposing their courts, to follow " my example. Nothing was more natural and " proper. These ladies, though still young, were " already experienced in the world; and among " them were several beautiful and fascinating " women. Most of them have now lost their " fortunes; some, I have been told, are re-mar- " ried, and have changed their names;* so that " of all the wealth and rank founded by me, no " traces will perhaps remain; even names will

* The Emperor had been informed, that two or three of the widows of his most distinguished generals had lately re-married. This, however, is untrue.

" disappear. If this should really be the case, " will it not afford ground for saying, that after " all there must have been a radical error in the " selections I made. But it will be all the worse for " the parties themselves; they will by this means " only furnish a triumph and a ground of inso- " lence to the old aristocracy."

We again reminded the Emperor of his intended ride on horseback: we urged him not to neglect it, because we knew it to be absolutely necessary for his health. But we could not prevail on him to leave the garden. " We are very well here," said he; " we will have some tents pitched on " this spot." We began to talk about the Faubourg St. Germain, and the Hotel de Luynes, which the Emperor termed its cathedral. He described to us the cause of the banishment of Madame de Chevreuse. He said, he had frequently threatened to visit her with this punishment, and for conduct of the most mischievous and insolent nature. One day, when urged to the utmost extremity, he addressed her as follows:—" Madam, according to the feudal no- " tions and doctrines, entertained by you and " your friends, you pretend to be the sovereigns " of your estates! Now, on the same principles, " I may style myself the Sovereign Lord of " France. I may claim Paris as my village, and " may banish from it every individual who is " obnoxious to me. I judge you by your own

" laws. Begone! and never venture to return!" On decreeing her exile, the Emperor was firmly resolved never to be prevailed on to recal her; because, he said, he had endured much before he decreed her punishment, and he found himself compelled to set an example of severity to spare the necessity of repeating it on others. This was one of his grand principles.

I told the Emperor, that I had frequently visited the Hotel de Luynes, and that I had been well acquainted with Madame de Chevreuse and her mother-in-law, for whom I had always entertained a great regard. The latter had evinced singular and constant affection for her daughter-in-law, having shared her exile, and accompanied her in her different journeys from place to place. When proceeding on my mission to Illyria, I one night met them both in an inn at the foot of the Simplon. To be thus able to procure in the desert the most trivial details relating to Paris and the court, was to them a source of unfeigned joy, and a most unexpected instance of good fortune. They listened to me with no less eagerness than that evinced by Fouquet on hearing the accounts of Lauzun. Their banishment from the capital had been to them an absolute sentence of death; it had overwhelmed them in despair!

Finally, I assured the Emperor, that for a considerable period I had observed the Hotel de Luynes, if not subdued, at least calmed and reduced to

something less than indifference; but our unexpected disasters had revived its former spirit.

As to Madame de Chevreuse, who was a pretty, intelligent, and amiable woman, with a somewhat romantic turn of mind, she had doubtless been seduced by the charms of notoriety, or urged on by her numerous flatterers and admirers, some of whom were very little worthy of her regard. "I "know it," observed the Emperor; "she hoped "to recommence *the Fronde;* but I was not a "minor Sovereign."

The brig Moschetto, which left England on the 23d of March, arrived with files of *Journaux des Debats* down to the 5th of March, and London papers to the 21st. On retiring to his closet, the Emperor desired me to follow him. He began to peruse the *Journaux des Debats;* and in the meanwhile, a letter was delivered to me from the Grand Marshal. It had just arrived from Europe, and was addressed to the Emperor. I handed it to him. He read it over once and sighed; and then having read it a second time, he tore it, and threw the fragments beneath the table. This letter was delivered open! . . . . . The Emperor then resumed his perusal of the Journals, and suddenly stopping, he said, after a few moments silence:—"That letter was from poor Ma- "dame: she is well, and wishes to come to reside "with me at St. Helena! . . . ." After this he continued his reading. This, which was the first

letter that the Emperor had received from any individual of his family, was in the handwriting of Cardinal Fesch. The Emperor was evidently much hurt by its having been delivered to him open.

Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru.—Difference of opinion produced by their conspiracy in the camp of Boulogne and in Paris.

30th.—The Emperor went out about two o'clock, and we all attended him. He began to converse about the intelligence contained in the French papers which he had just received, and alluded to the statues which, it was stated, were to be erected to the memory of Moreau and Pichegru. "A statue to Moreau," said he, "whose conspiracy in 1803 is now so well "proved! Moreau, who, in 1813, died fighting "under the Russian standard! A monument to "the memory of Pichegru, who was guilty of "one of the most heinous of crimes! who pur- "posely suffered himself to be defeated, and who "connived with the enemy in the slaughter of his "own troops! And after all," continued he, "his- "tory is only made up of reports which gain "credit by repetition. Because it has been re- "peatedly affirmed that these were great men, "who deserved well of their country, they will "at length pass for such, and their adversaries "will be despised."

Some one present remarked, that it might have been thus in the dark ages of ignorance; but that now the multitude of monuments and public documents, the arts of printing and engraving, and the general diffusion of knowledge, must always render truth accessible to those who wish to come at it, and as each party has its own historians, the thinking reader will always be enabled to form an impartial opinion.

The Emperor then described at length the affairs of Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru, to which I have before alluded, and of which I promised further details. He now informed us, that the man who made the first confessions, indicated, though without naming him, a person to whom Georges, and the other leaders of the conspiracy, never spoke without taking their hats off, and whom they treated with the utmost consideration and respect. It was at first supposed that this individual must have been the Duke de Berri; and some concluded him to have been the Duke d'Enghien, during his momentary appearance. Charles d'Hosier, one of the conspirators, unexpectedly drew aside the veil. A few days after his arrest, he was seized with a fit of melancholy and hanged himself in prison. The alarm was however given and he was cut down. Stretched on his bed, and while yet struggling between life and death, he vented repeated imprecations on Moreau, and

accused him of having treacherously seduced many well-disposed men, and held out to them promises of assistance which he never realized. He likewise mentioned the names of Georges and Pichegru. This was the first circumstance that excited suspicion against Georges and Pichegru; there was previously no idea of either the one or the other having been engaged in the conspiracy. Real who had hastened to this sort of death-bed confession of d'Hosier, proposed to the Consul that he should order the arrest of Moreau.

"This event created a great sensation," said the Emperor. "The public mind was wrought "up to a high pitch of fermentation. Doubts "were entertained of the truth of the statements "made by the Government respecting the extent "of the conspiracy, and the number of the con- "spirators. Of the latter it was affirmed there "were about forty in Paris. Their names were "published, and the First Consul pledged his "honour to secure them. He summoned Bas- "sières, and gave orders that he with his corps, "should surround and guard the walls of Paris. "For the space of six weeks, nobody was suf- "fered to quit the capital without special per- "mission. A general gloom prevailed through "Paris; but every day the Moniteur announced "the arrest of one or two of the individuals who "it was alleged were concerned in the conspi- "racy. Public opinion took a turn in my fa-

" vour ; and indignation against the conspirators " increased in proportion as they were secured. " Not one escaped."

The public papers of the period detail the particulars of the arrest of Georges, who killed two men before he could be secured. It appears that he was betrayed by his comrade, who drove the cabriolet in which they were both riding together.

As to Pichegru, he was the victim of the basest treachery. " This circumstance," said the Emperor, " was truly a disgrace to human nature. " He was sold by his intimate friend ; by a man " whom I will not name, on account of the horror " and disgust which his conduct is calculated to " excite." We informed the Emperor that the name of this individual had been mentioned in the Moniteur, at which he expressed surprise. " This man," continued he, " who was formerly " a military officer, and who has since followed " the business of a merchant at Lyons, offered to " deliver up Pichegru for 100,000 crowns. On " the day on which he made this proposition, he " stated that they had, on the preceding evening " supped together, and that Pichegru finding " himself every day alluded to in the Moniteur, " and being aware that the critical moment was " fast approaching, said, ' If I and a few other " Generals were boldly to present ourselves to " the troops, should we not gain them over ?'— " ' No,' replied the friend, ' you form a wrong

"idea of the state of feeling in France: you "would not gain over a single soldier.'—He "spoke truly. At night, the faithless friend "conducted the officers of the police to Piche- "gru's door; and he gave them a minute descrip- "tion of his chamber and his means of defending "himself. Pichegru had pistols on his bed-room "table, and he kept a light burning while he slept. "The officers gently unlocked the door by means of "the false keys, which the treacherous friend had "procured for them. The table was overturned, "the candle was extinguished, and the officers "seized Pichegru, who immediately jumped out "of bed. He was a very powerful man; he "struggled desperately, and it was found neces- "sary to bind him and convey him to prison, "without waiting till he could be dressed."

On being placed at the head of the govern- ment, the First Consul was extremely anxious to tranquillize the western departments. He sum- moned nearly all the leading men of those dis- tricts, and succeeded in rousing several of them to a sense of the interests and glory of their country; he added, that he even drew tears from the eyes of some. Georges had his turn among the rest. The Emperor said that he had endea- voured to touch every individual string of his heart; but in vain, he could produce no vibra- tion. He found him lost to every generous feel-

ing, and coldly intent on his own ambitious calculations. He persisted in his determination to command his Cantons. The Consul, having exhausted every conciliatory argument, at length assumed the language of the first Magistrate of France. He dismissed him, and recommended him to go home and live quietly and submissively; and above all, not to mistake the nature of the course he had that moment adopted, nor to attribute to feebleness what was only the result of his moderation, and the consciousness of his power. He desired him to repeat to himself, and to all who were connected with him, that so long as the First Consul should hold the reins of authority, there would be no chance of safety for any who might dare to engage in conspiracy. Georges took his leave; but, as the event proved, not without having imbibed from this conference a feeling of respect for Napoleon, on whose destruction, however, he still continued bent.

Moreau was the rallying point and the centre of attraction to the conspirators, who came from London to attack Paris. It appeared that Lajollais, his Aide-de-camp, had deceived these men, by addressing them in the name of Moreau, and telling them, that that General was secure of popular favour throughout the whole of France, and could dispose of the whole army. Moreau constantly assured them, that he could command

no one, not even his Aide-de-camp; but that if they killed the First Consul, they might do any thing.

Moreau, when left to himself, was a very good sort of man. He was easily led, and this accounts for his inconsistencies. He left the palace in raptures, and returned to it full of spleen and malice;—having in the interim seen his mother-in-law and his wife. The First Consul, who would have been very glad to have gained him over to his side, once made it up with him completely; but their friendship lasted only four days. The Consul then vowed that he would never renew it. In fact, attempts were afterwards frequently made to reconcile them together; but Napoleon never would agree to it. He foresaw that Moreau would commit some fault, that he would lose himself; and certainly he could not have done so in a way more advantageous to the First Consul.

Some days previous to the battle of Leipsic, some carriages containing property and papers belonging to Moreau, which were on their way to his widow in England, were intercepted at Wittemberg. Among those papers, there was a letter from Madame Moreau herself, in which she advised her husband to lay aside his silly wavering conduct, and to come boldly to a determination. She urged him to assist in the triumph of the legitimate cause, that of the Bourbons. In

answer to this, Moreau wrote a few days before his death, begging her not to trouble him with her chimeras. "I have come near enough to "France," said he, "to know all that is going "forward there . . . . . I have got into a true "wasp's nest."

The Emperor was on the point of publishing these intercepted papers in the Moniteur; but there still existed in France some persons blindly tenacious of the opinion they had always maintained of Moreau, and who persisted in regarding him as a victim of tyranny. The counter-revolution had not yet afforded an opportunity of making known those acts hitherto disavowed, and of claiming their recompense. The circumstance of personal enmity prevented the Emperor from executing his intention. He thought it would not be becoming to revive this enmity for his own advantage, and to tarnish the memory of a man, who had just fallen on the field of battle.

The trial of Moreau and Pichegru, which was protracted for such a length of time, violently agitated the public mind. What added to the notoriety and interest of this trial, was its connection with the affair of the Duke d'Enghien, with which it became interwoven. "I have," said the Emperor "been reproached with having "committed a great fault in that trial. It has "been compared with the affair of the necklace, "in the reign of Louis XVI. which that Monarch

" put into the hands of Parliament, instead of " having it judged by a Committee. Politicians " have affirmed, that I should have contented " myself with consigning the criminals to the " judgment of a Military Committee. It would " have been ended in eight and forty hours. *I could* " *have done it;* it was legal, and nothing more " would have been required of me; I should have " avoided the risks to which I was exposed. But " I felt my power so unlimited, and I was at the " same time so strong in the justice of my cause, " that I was determined the affair should be " open to the observation of the whole world. " For this reason the ambassadors and agents of " Foreign powers were present during the pro- " ceedings !"

One of the company present here observed to the Emperor that the course he then adopted, had proved advantageous to history and honourable to his own character. It had furnished three volumes of authentic documents relating to the trial.

Another individual of the Emperor's suite, who, at the time of this celebrated trial, was with the army at Boulogne, said that all these events, even the affair of the Duke D'Enghien, had there excited but little interest, and that on his return to Paris, some time after, he was astonished to observe the sensation which they had created in the capital.

The Emperor remarked that the public mind had indeed been highly excited, particularly on the occasion of the death of the Duke d'Enghien, which event, he said, still appeared to be judged of in Europe with blindness and prejudice. He maintained his right of adopting the step he had taken, and enumerated the reasons which had urged him to it. He then adverted to the many attempts that had been made to assassinate him, and observed that he was bound in justice to say that he had never detected Louis XVIII. in any direct conspiracy against his life, though such plots had been incessantly renewed in other quarters. With regard to that Prince he had heard only of his systematic plans, ideal operations, &c.

"If," continued he, "I had continued in France "in 1815, I intended to have given publicity to "some of the latter attempts that were made "against me. The Maubreuil affair in particular "should have been solemnly investigated by the "first Court of the Empire, and Europe would "have shuddered to see to what an extent the "crime of secret assassination could be carried."

Conversation respecting the situation of England.—Letters detained by the Governor.—Characteristic observations.]

31st - At five o'clock, I went to join the Emperor in the garden; we were all assembled there. The conversation turned on politics. He de-

scribed the melancholy situation of England, amidst her triumphs. He alluded to the immensity of her debt, the madness, the impossibility of her becoming a continental power, the dangers which assailed her constitution, the embarrassment of her ministers, and the just clamour of the people. England with her 150 or 200 thousand men, made as many efforts as he, the Emperor, had ever made during the period of his great power, and perhaps even more. He had never employed beyond 500 thousand French troops. The traces of his Continental system were followed by all the powers on the Continent, and would be pursued still further in proportion as those powers became more settled. He did not hesitate to say, and he proved it, that England would have gained by remaining faithful to the treaty of Amiens; that such a line of conduct would have been to the advantage of all Europe, but that Napoleon himself, and his glory would have suffered by it. Yet it was England and not he who broke the treaty.

There was only one course, he continued, for England to pursue; namely, to return to her constitution and abandon the military system; to interfere with the Continent only through her maritime influence, in which she was pre-eminent. It was, he said, easy to foresee that great calamities would assail her should she adopt any other course, and this she would inevitably do,

because all her aristocracy urged her to it, and because the folly, pride, or venality of her present ministry, caused her to persist in the system she was pursuing.

The conversation being concluded, the Emperor returned to his study, and desired me to follow him. He told me that a letter which had been sent to him from England by post, was said to have been kept back by the Governor, because it was not addressed to him officially; and it was said that a letter for the Grand-Marshal had been detained for the same reason. The Emperor observed that if this were true, there was something peculiarly cruel in the conduct of the Governor, in having sent back the letters without even mentioning them to us, and without affording us the consolation of knowing from whom they came . . . A neglect of form, he said, might easily be corrected in the Island; but it could not so easily be observed at 2,000 leagues distance. I told the Emperor that a circumstance nearly similar to that which he had just mentioned had occurred to me eight or ten days back. "A person "who was on his way to Europe had tormented "me with his offers of service. I yielded to his "solicitations, and commissioned him to order me "some shoes and to get a watch changed for me, "for there is no person here who knows how to "repair a watch. The Governor had forbidden "the execution of those commissions, because

" they had not been addressed to himself. I " have said nothing on the subject to any one, " Sire, because it is a principle with me to " conceal an insult for which I cannot obtain re- " dress; but I shall find an opportunity to tell " the Governor my mind. In the meantime, nei- " ther he nor the person to whom I gave the " commission, have been able to draw from me " a line, or a single word, though the latter has " made several attempts to do so."

After dinner the Emperor, conversing on our situation and the conduct of the Governor, who came to-day and took a rapid circuit round Longwood, reverted to the subject of the last interview they had had together, and made some striking observations respecting it. " I behaved " very ill to him, no doubt," said he, " and nothing " but my present situation could excuse me; but " I was out of humour, and could not help it; " I should blush for it in any other situation. " Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries, " I should have felt myself bound in conscience " to make some atonement. Never during the " period of my power did I speak harshly to " any one without afterwards saying something " to make amends for it. But here I uttered not " a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish " to do so. However, the Governor proved him- " self very insensible to my severity; his delicacy " did not seem wounded by it. I should have

" liked, for his sake, to have seen him evince a " little anger, or pull the door violently after " him when he went away. This would at least " have shown that there was some spring and " elasticity about him ; but I found nothing of " the kind."

The Emperor then again resumed his conversation on political affairs, which he maintained with so much spirit and interest, that I could have forgotten for a time what part of the world I was in. I could have believed myself still at the Tuileries, or in the Rue de Bourgogne.

Map
explanatory of several chapters
of the
CAMPAIGN OF ITALY,
dictated
BY NAPOLEON,
&c. &c. &c.
conducted on the
JOURNAL
of
COUNT LAS CASES.
English Miles 69½ to a Degree.
Italian Miles 60 to a Degree.
French Leagues 25 to a Degree.
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Bregenz
Road by CLAGENFURT
Aroma
Como
Lecco
BERGAMO
TRENT
Roveredo
Botzano
Lavis
Feltre
UDINE
Idria
Gradisca
Goritz
Monte Falcone
Adelsberg
TRIESTE
Citadella
TREVISA
VICENZA
VERONA
VENICE
PADUA
Este
Adige R.
MILAN
Crema
Lodi
Adda R.
Oglio R.
Mincio R.
TURIN
Valenza
Tanaro R.
ALESSANDRIA
Alba
Bra
Bernasco
Novi
Asqui
Gavi
Voghera
PIACENZA
Po R.
Marcaria
MANTUA
Governolo
FERRARA
PARMA
REGGIO
MODENA
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MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

[I shall here insert all that I have remaining of the chapters on the army of Italy, to avoid separating them too far from those which precede them. They are so interesting that I much regret my having no more of them. It will even be seen that the chapter on Leoben is incomplete; it will however, be the more valuable, as I have reason to believe that it has not been preserved exactly in the same form; it will be curious to compare the first dictation with the complete work.]

BATTLE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO,*

From the passage of the Piave, March 13, 1797, to the entrance of the French Army into Germany, on the 28th of the same month.

I. *Situation of Italy at the commencement of* 1797.—*The peace of Tolentino had re-established our relations with Rome.* The court of Naples *was* satisfied with the moderation of the French,

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* All the words in Italics are corrections made in the original MSS. by Napoleon's own hand.

with respect to the Pope; in which it saw a proof that it was the intention of the republic not to interfere with its domestic affairs, or *to give any support to the discontented.* We were masters of the republic of Genoa; the oligarchical party in that state had lost all credit. The Cispadan and Transpadan republics were animated with the best spirit; they afforded us every kind of assistance. *In Piedmont,* the fortresses of Alessandria, Fenestrelles, Cherasco, *Coni, and Tortona,* were garrisoned by French troops. Suza, Labrunette, and Desmont had been demolished. Misery and discontent were at the highest pitch *amongst the people.* Insurrections against the court had been attempted in several provinces. The king of Sardinia had assembled his troops of the line to form an army to *suppress these disturbances.* The French General had done every thing possible *to maintain order and tranquillity in Piedmont;* he had often threatened to march his troops against *the malcontents,* but the communications *were* restored between France, Piedmont, and the Cispadan and Transpadan republics. *The spirit which prevailed in these republics spread into Piedmont.* The French officers and soldiers, *animated with republican principles, propagated them* throughout Italy. Circumstances were *become* such, that it was necessary, *for the success of the French general's plans,* either to destroy *the king of Sardinia,* or to relieve him from all anxiety,

and *repress the disaffected. The French General conceived the idea* of an offensive and defensive treaty with the court of Sardinia: it was signed by General Clarke and the Marquis of Saint Marsan. The republic guaranteed the king's crown; the King *declared war against Austria, and furnished a contingent of* 10,000 *men, and twenty pieces of cannon to the French army. This treaty was of great importance to the execution of the grand plan of the General-in-chief. His army was thus reinforced, and he had hostages with him who secured Piedmont to him during his absence from Italy.* But the Directory did not feel the importance of this treaty, and constantly adjourned its ratification. The publicity of the treaty, however, renewed the king's credit, and discouraged the malevolent. The state of Venice alone excited alarm. Brescia, Bergamo, the Polesine, and part of the Vicentine and Paduan, were perfectly well disposed to the French cause, but *the Austrian party which was that of the Venetian senate, had at its disposal the greater part of the Veronese, and twelve or* 15,000 *Sclavonians who were in Venice.* Every scheme that Napoleon could think of for smoothing the difficulties having failed, he was compelled to proceed, and to content himself with occupying the fortress of Verona, and leaving a corps of reserve, to watch the Venetian country, and secure his rear. In the following chapter will be seen the reasons which prevented

him from putting an end to the troubles of this republic previously to entering Germany.

II. *The Emperor of Germany refuses to acknowledge the French republic, or enter into negotiations. The French General prepares to force him to do so.*—Both before and after the taking of Mantua, several pacific overtures had been made to the court of Vienna: they all proved fruitless. General Clarke had been sent from Paris with a letter from the directory to the Emperor of Germany, and full powers to negotiate and conclude the preliminaries of peace. A conference had taken place at Vicenza, before the battle of Rivoli, between Clarke and Baron Saint Vincent, *the Emperor's aide-de-camp.* The latter said that his master did not acknowledge the French republic, and could not hear of making peace *without the concurrence of his ally, that is to say, of England.* After the taking of Mantua, Clarke made a second attempt. He repaired to Florence, and saw the Grand Duke; he obtained the same answer. The French General being now free from all apprehensions with respect to Italy, resolved to drive the Austrians beyond the Julian Alps, to pursue them on the Drave and the Muer, to pass the Simmering, and to force the Emperor of Austria to sign peace at Vienna. The project was vast; success appeared certain. The General-in-chief promised the *French* government to obtain peace in the course of the summer.

The army of Italy had never been so fine, so numerous, or in better condition. It was composed of eight divisions of infantry, and 6,000 cavalry; and had 150 pieces of cannon well horsed. These troops were well clothed, shod, fed, and paid; and consisted of veteran soldiers and excellent officers. They formed an army of 60,000 men, equal to any enterprize.

Since the taking of Mantua, the French army had directly menaced the hereditary states of the house of Austria; its advanced posts being on the frontiers. The French armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse, which had their winter quarters on the left bank of the Rhine, was separated from the army of Italy by a distance of more than 100 leagues, *by the states* of the Germanic body. The army of Italy was distant about 180 leagues from Vienna, and the armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse more than 200 leagues. The army of Italy, therefore, attracted all the attention of the court of Vienna. Prince Charles who had obtained some successes *on the Danube* in the preceding campaigns was sent to the Piave with a reinforcement of 40,000 men, the best troops of the monarchy.

The Austrian engineers had been examining all the *cols* and heights of the Noric Alps, projecting intrenchments, and drawing up plans for fortifying Gradisca, Clagenfurt, and Tarvis. But these

works could not be commenced until after the melting of the snow, which does not disappear in the Noric Alps before the end of March. It was, therefore, important to get the start of the enemy, before he could collect all his resources and intrench the gorges and difficult passes which were to be traversed. Napoleon resolved to be in Germany at the end of March.

III. *Plan of campaign of the French army for marching on Vienna.*—The Brenner is the most lofty summit of the Alps of the Tyrol; it is the geographical division between Germany and Italy. The Inn, the Adda, and the Adige, rise in this elevated chain of mountains; the Inn runs from south-west to north-east, for fifty leagues, in the Tyrol, at the back of the Brenner, towards the Danube, into which it falls, dividing Bavaria from Austria. The Adda, the sources of which are near those of the Inn, runs from north to south, and falls, after a course of eight leagues, into the lake of Como, on emerging from which it crosses Lombardy. The Adige, which has its source a few leagues from that of the Inn, runs from north to south for fifty leagues on the other declivity of the Brenner, enters Italy at Verona, whence it falls into the Adriatic, near the mouth of the Po. A great number of tributary streams run into the different rivers, and form clefts between perpendicular rocks, into which it is impossible to penetrate without being master of the

heights. It is the ruggedest and most difficult part of the Alps, as well as the most intersected and steepest.

There are only three great roads to Vienna from Italy: that of the Tyrol, that of Carinthia, and that of Carniola. The first crosses the upper chain of the Alps at the pass of the Brenner; the second at the pass of the Noric Alps, between Ponteba and Tarvis; the third at the pass of the Carniolan Alps, a few leagues from Laybach. According to the general law of the Alps, the pass of the Brenner is much more elevated than the pass of Tarvis; and the latter, than that of Laybach.

The road of the Tyrol commences at Verona; ascends the left bank of the Adige; passes Trent, Bolzano, Brixen; crosses the Brenner, 60 leagues from Verona; meets the Inn at Inspruck nine leagues and a half farther on; runs along by the Inn to half way between Rattemberg and Kuftein, whence, in the course of 34 leagues and a half it reaches Salzburg; from which place it runs 32 leagues, and passes Ens on the Danube, and thence runs 36 leagues to Vienna. This road, which bears the name of the Tyrolese road, runs, therefore, 171 leagues from Verona to Vienna.

The Carinthian road commences at Saint Daniele, crosses the chain of the Noric Alps, and enters Tarvis and Ponteba, in a course of 31 leagues; 24 leagues and a half from thence it passes the Drave at Villach; crosses Clagenfurt, the capital of Ca-

rinthia, 8 leagues from Villach; meets the Mur, which it follows to Jundeburg, 20 leagues and a half further, and goes on to Bruch, a distance of 12 leagues, in a serpentine direction. At Bruch the road leaves the Mur, and for 12 leagues ascends the Simmering, a mountain which divides the valley of the Danube from the valley of the Mur, and thence descends into the plain which leads to Vienna, a distance of only 20 leagues. It is, then, 97 leagues from the frontiers of Italy to Vienna; or from Saint Daniele, 127 leagues.

The road of Carniola begins at Goritz, reaches Laybach at the distance of 27 leagues, passes the Save, the Alps, and descends on the Drave, which it passes at Marburg, 30 leagues and a half from Laybach; thence it runs 4 leagues and a half to Ehrenhausen, where it meets the Mur; it runs along that river for 26 leagues to Bruch, passing Gratz, the capital of Styria; where it meets the Carinthian road; it is therefore 103 leagues from Goritz to Vienna, by the road of Carniola.

The Tyrolese road is joined to the Carinthian road by six transverse communications: 1st. a little above Brixen, a road called Puthersthal turns to the right, ascends one of the tributary streams of the Adige, passes on to Lienz and Spital, and ends at Villach, 46 leagues and a half from Brixen; 2dly. a road turns off from Salzburg which crosses Rastadt, meets the Puthersthal at Spital, and reaches Villach, 52 leagues from Salzburg; 3dly. from the

second cross-road, a road turns off, four leagues below Rastadt, which follows the Mur as far as Scheiffling, where it meets the Carinthian road; it is about 16 leagues in length; 4thly. a road from Lintz on the Danube, which passes the Ens near Rottenman, crosses high mountains, and descends on Judemburg; 5thly. from Ens on the Danube a road ascends the Ens for about 20 leagues, and descends on Leoben for about 8 leagues; 6thly. from the Danube by Saint Polten, there is a road to Bruch, which is about 24 leagues off.

The two roads of Carniola and Carinthia are united by three transverse roads: 1st. from Goritz, ascending the Isonzo for 10 leagues, you reach Caporetto, where is the road of Udine; 6 leagues higher you meet with the Austrian Chuisa; and finally, 5 leagues farther, with Tarvis, where this road joins that of Ponteba or Carinthia; 2dly. another road goes from Laybach, crosses the Save and the Drave, and in the course of 17 leagues reaches Clagenfurt; but this road is very difficult for artillery; 3dly. from Marburg, a road ascends the Drave, and in about 25 leagues reaches Clagenfurt, where it meets the Carinthian road; beyond Clagenfurt and Marburg, these two roads of Carinthia and Carniola run on parallel to each other, about 20 leagues apart, and have no cross communication practicable for waggons.

Napoleon's plan was to penetrate into Germany by the road of *Carinthia*, to cross Carniola and

Styria, and reach the Simmering; but Prince Charles *had two* armies, *one* in the Tyrol, and the other *behind* the Piave: it was therefore necessary to leave part of the army in observation against the army of the Tyrol. The French General preferred making the divisions of the Tyrol also act on the offensive, bringing them on to Brixen, and *directing them on Clagenfurt* by the Puthersthal road, whilst the principal corps of the army should advance on the Piave, cross the Tagliamento, debouch by the road of *Carinthia* on the Drave and Villach, where it would be joined by its wing of the Tyrol; and then the whole army would march in junction on the Simmering.

Three divisions forming a total of 15,000 men, under the command of General Joubert, were destined for the operation of the Tyrol; four under the command of the General-in-chief in person, amounting to 35,000 men, marched on the Tagliamento; the 8th, which was partly composed of the troops which had marched on Rome, was intended to form a corps of observation against Venice, and to secure the tranquillity of our rear. The generals of division Baraguey D'Hilliers and Delmas commanded in the Tyrol under Joubert; Generals Massena, Serrurier, Guyeux and Bernadotte, were at the head of the four divisions of infantry which marched on the Tagliamento; General Dagua commanded the cavalry. The armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse were to pass the

Rhine and enter Germany, so as to arrive on the Lech *and the Danube* at the same time as the French army should reach the Simmering. The Piedmont division, 10,000 strong, had been reckoned upon, but the delay of the ratifications deprived the army of this important *reinforcement.*

IV. *Passage of the Piave, March 13th.* In the Tyrol, the whole of the month of February was passed in brisk skirmishes. The Austrians had appeared in force, and with great audacity, in that country. On the Piave, Prince Charles made several movements in order to take advantage of the separation *of part* of the French army which he supposed to be detached on Rome. General Guyeux thought himself menaced at Trevisa, and repassed the Brenta; but Prince Charles, *on reciving more accurate intelligence, and finding that the French General had advanced with only from four or five thousand men on Rome, halted.* Nothing took place, but a few skirmishes. The French headquarters were fixed at Bassano in the beginning of March.

The following proclamation was inserted in the order of the day:

" The taking of Mantua has just ended a campaign which has given you imperishable claims to the gratitude of your country.

" You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and seventy other actions; you have made more than 100,000 prisoners, and taken from the

enemy 500 pieces of field artillery, 2,000 heavy guns, and four pontoon trains.

" The contributions laid on the countries which you have conquered, have fed, maintained and paid the army during the whole campaign; besides which, you have sent thirty millions of francs to the ministry of finances for the relief of the public treasury.

" You have enriched the Museum of Paris with more than 300 of the masterpieces of art of ancient and modern Italy, works for the production of which thirty centuries were requisite.

" You have conquered for the republic the finest countries of Europe. The Lombard and Transpadan republics are indebted to you for their liberty; the French flag now waves for the first time on the shores of the Adriatic, opposite ancient Macedon, and within 24 hours sail of her shores. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, have abandoned the coalition of our enemies, and sought our friendship; you have driven the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. But you have not yet finished; important deeds are still destined for you; it is in you that the nation reposes its dearest hopes; you will continue to be worthy of them.

" Out of so many enemies who combined to stifle the republic in its birth, the Emperor alone remains before us. This prince, basely stooping from the rank of a great power, has enlisted in the pay

of the merchants of London; he has no longer any will or policy but that of those perfidious islanders, who, being themselves strangers to the calamities of war, smile with satisfaction at the miseries of the continent.

"The Executive Directory has spared nothing to obtain peace for Europe; in the moderation of its proposals, no reliance on the strength of its armies was discoverable; it had not calculated on your courage, but on humanity, and the wish to allow you to return to your families. At Vienna it was not listened to: there are no hopes of obtaining peace but by going to seek it in the heart of the heriditary states of the house of Austria. You will there find a brave people overwhelmed by the war which they have lately had to sustain against the Turks, and by that in which we are engaged. The inhabitants of Vienna and of the Austrian states are groaning under the blind despotism of their government; there is not an individual amongst them who is not convinced that the gold of England has corrupted the Emperor's ministers. You will respect their religion and manners; you will protect their property; you will carry liberty to the brave Hungarian nation.

"The house of Austria, which has for three centuries continued to lose part of its power in each succeeding war; which alienates its people, by depriving them of their privileges; will find itself reduced, at the end of this sixth campaign (since it

compels us to make it) to accept such peace as we may think proper to grant, and to take up permanently that place amongst secondary powers, which it already fills by accepting the wages and submitting to the will of England.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

The army was speedily in motion. It was necessary to pass the Piave, which was defended by Prince Charles's army, and to endeavour to gain the passes of Osopo and Ponteba before him. Massena, with his fine division, was selected for the accomplishment of this important object. He left Bassano, passed the Piave and the Tagliamento in the mountains, thus turning the whole of Prince Charles's army. *The latter detached* a division to oppose this manœuvre. Massena defeated and pursued it with great slaughter, taking many prisoners and some pieces of cannon. Amongst these prisoners was General de Lusignan, who had insulted the sick French, his countrymen, in the hospitals of Brescia, during the ephemeral success of Wurmser. Massena made himself master of Feltre, Cadore, and Belluno, driving the routed Austrian division before him, without suffering any considerable loss.

On the 12th the General-in-chief proceeded to Azolo, with Serrurier's division; passed the Piave at break of day, marched on Conegliano, where were the Austrian head quarters, thus turning all the Austrian divisions which defended the lower

Piave, and enabling General Guyeux to effect his passage at two o'clock in the afternoon at Ospadeletto. The river is pretty deep there, and might have required a bridge, but good will supplied the place of one. A drummer was the only person in danger, but was saved by a suttler's wife, who rescued him by swimming: the General-in-chief rewarded her by putting a gold chain round her neck. On the 12th the French General reached Conegliano, with the divisions of Serrurier and Guyeux. Bernadotte's division joined on the following day.

Prince Charles had chosen the plains of the Tagliamento for the field of battle, thinking them advantageous for the movements of his cavalry. His rear guard attempted to maintain itself at Sacile, but was beaten by General Guyeux, who entered that place on the 13th.

V. *Battle of the Tagliamento*, 16*th March*. On the 16th, at 9 in the morning, the two armies confronted each other; the French on the right and the Austrians on the left bank of the Tagliamento. The divisions of Guyeux, Serrurier, and Bernadotte, formed the left of the centre, and the right was before Valvasona, with head-quarters. Prince Charles, with nearly equal forces, was posted in a similar manner, opposite the French, on the right bank. By this position he did not cover the road of Ponteba. The remains of the division opposed to Massena were now unable to arrest his progress. Yet Ponteba was the shortest way to Vienna, and

the natural direction for covering that capital. This conduct on the part of Prince Charles could only be explained by supposing that he was not yet well acquainted with the new ground on which he was about to operate, and which had never been the theatre of war in modern times; or that he did not believe the French General bold enough to advance on Vienna, and had no anxiety but for Trieste, the centre of the naval establishments of Austria; or, finally, that his positions were not definitively taken, and that being covered by the Tagliamento, he hoped to gain a few days to allow a division of grenadiers, who had already reached Clagenfurth, to arrive and reinforce the division opposed to Massena.

The cannonade commenced on the two banks. The light cavalry made several charges on the sands of the torrent. The General in Chief seeing the enemy too well prepared, made his men pile their arms, and form the bivouacs. The Austrian General was deceived; he thought the French army, *which had marched all night*, was taking up a position; he fell back, and returned to his bivouacs. But two hours afterwards, when all was quiet in both camps, the French suddenly resumed their arms, and Duphot, at the head of the 27th light demi-brigade, forming Guyeux's vanguard, and Murat, at the head of the 15th light demi-brigade, leading Bernadotte's vanguard, each sustained by their divisions, each brigade forming a

line, and these lines supported by Serrurier, marching in the rear, in reserve, rushed into the river. The enemy had run to arms; but all our troops had passed the river in the finest order, and were drawn up in line of battle on the left bank. The fire of cannon and musketry became general. At the first report of cannon Massena effected his passage at Saint Daniele; he met with little resistance, and took Osopo, that key of the road of Ponteba, which the enemy had committed the error of neglecting. He thenceforth cut the Austrian army off from that road, separated the division opposed to him from the Austrian army, and pursued it to the bridge of Carasola, constantly driving it towards Carinthia. Prince Charles despaired of victory. After several hours fighting, and different charges of infantry and cavalry, he commenced his retreat, leaving us some cannon and prisoners.

VI. *Prince Charles's plan of retreat.* Prince Charles could no longer retreat towards Ponteba, *by the road of Saint Daniele and Osopo*, which Massena held in his possession. He determined to regain that road at Tarvis, with the greater part of his army, by Udine, Cividale, Caporetto, and the Austrian Chiusa. He ordered one of his divisions to his left, by Palma-Nuova, Gradisca, and Laybach, to cover Carniola.

But Massena was only two days march from Tarvis; and the Austrian army, by this new route, had five or six marches to make. Prince Charles,

therefore, compromised his army; he was sensible of it, and hastened, in person, to Clagenfurt, to press the march of a division of grenadiers which was there. *Massena himself had, however, lost two days; but having received orders to advance on Tarvis without hesitation, he there met with Prince Charles, with the wreck of the division which had been flying before him all the way from the Piave, and a fine division of Hungarian grenadiers.*

The action was brisk and obstinate on both sides. Each felt the importance of success; for if Massena should succeed in gaining possession of the debouché of Tarvis, the part of the Austrian army which Prince Charles had led into the vale of the Isonzo would be lost. Prince Charles ran the greatest personal risk, and was several times on the point of being taken by the French skirmishers. General Brune, who commanded a brigade of Massena's division, displayed the greatest valour. Prince Charles's troops were broken: he had made his very last reserves engage; he could operate no retreat. The remains of his troops proceeded beyond the Drave, to rally there. Massena being master of Tarvis, established himself there, *facing towards Villach and Goritz, and barring the debouchés of the Isonzo.*

VII. *Action of Gradisca. Taking of Laybach and Trieste.*—The day after the battle of the Tagliamento, the head quarters were moved to Palma-Nuova, a fortress belonging to the Venetians.

Prince Charles had caused it to be occupied, and had established his magazines there; but judging that he should be obliged to leave five or six thousand men to guard it, his garrison guns not having arrived, he resolved to evacuate it. We immediately fortified it, and secured it from a *coup de main*. On the following day, the 19th, we marched on the Isonzo.

General Bernadotte appeared before Gradisca, to pass the Isonzo there. He found the town shut, and was received with discharges of cannon. It was wished to parley with the commandant of the place, who refused. Napoleon then set out with Serrurier's division, took the road of Montefalcone, and marched as far as the point where the left bank of the river no longer commands the right. He was obliged to lose time in constructing a bridge; Colonel Andreossi, the director of bridges, was the first to throw himself into the river, to sound its depth; the columns followed his example, and passed, up to the middle in water, under the feeble fire of two battalions of Croats, who were soon put to flight. It was one o'clock in the afternoon; the troops turned to the left, and ascended the heights, traversing them as far as Gradisca, which they reached at five in the evening. Thus the place was surrounded and commanded. Serrurier's division had marched with the greater rapidity, because the firing of musketry was brisk on the right bank, where Bernadotte was already engaged.

This General had had the imprudence to attempt to carry the place by assault: he had been repulsed, and had, unnecessarily, lost four or five hundred men. This excessive ardour was excused by the desire the troops of the Sambre and Meuse had to signalize themselves, and by the noble emulation of reaching Gradisca before the old troops of Italy. When the Governor of Gradisca saw the Isonzo passed, and the heights covered with troops, he capitulated, and surrendered prisoner of war, *with several regiments and many pieces of cannon.* The head-quarters were removed on the following day to Goritz. Bernadotte's division was directed on Laybach. General Dugua, with 1000 cavalry, took possession of Trieste. Serrurier's division, from Goritz, reascended the Isonzo, to support General Guyeux, and to regain the road to Carinthia, at Tarvis. General Guyeux had marched from the field of battle of the Tagliamento, towards Udine and Cividal, and had entered the road of the Isonzo at Caporetto. He had had serious actions every day with Prince Charles's principal corps, which had taken the same road to reach Tarvis; he had killed or made prisoners great numbers of his troops. The Austrian General had left a rear guard on the Venetian Chiusa, and had proceeded to Tarvis, hoping that Prince Charles still occupied that place. But Massena had been two days there. He was attacked in front by Massena, and in the rear by

Guyeux. Not even the strong position of the Venetian Chiusa could resist the impetuous 4th of the line, who, with unparalleled rapidity climbed a mountain which commands the left of the Chiusa; and thus turning this important post, left the the enemy no resource but to lay down their arms. All their baggage, artillery stores, and colours were taken. Only 5000 prisoners were made, 10,000 having been killed or wounded in different engagements. *Since the battle of the Tagliamento*, 10,000 *soldiers*, *inhabitants* of Carniola or Croatia, seeing that *all was lost*, disbanded themselves in the passes, and sought their own villages one by one.

Head quarters were transferred successively to Caporetto, Tarvis, Villach, and Clagenfurt.

VIII. *Entrance into Germany. Passage of the Drave. Taking of Clagenfurt, March 29th.*— The province of Goritz, which is the first of the hereditary states of the house of Austria, borders on Italy. The inhabitants speak Italian. This province was organized without delay; the old castle of Goritz was fortified and garrisoned: a provisional government was composed of the seven most considerable persons, who were entrusted with the administration of the country. All measures were taken to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants, and to alleviate the burthen unavoidably imposed on them by the garrison.

Similar measures were taken at Trieste, for

Istria. All English merchandize was confiscated; the old castle was repaired, to serve as a refuge for the little garrison which it was intended to leave there. The inhabitants were very favourably disposed towards the French.

Laybach is the capital of Carniola: a provisional government was established there on the same principles as at Goritz and Trieste. This city was put in a state of defence: it had a wall with bastions of very ancient design. The houses on the ramparts were destroyed.

In these countries situate near the Alps, the weather was still cold. The inhabitants, who had at first been terrified, had every reason to be satisfied with the French army, nor had the latter any cause of complaint against these people.

The inhabitants of the circle of Villach appeared amicably disposed towards the French; they supplied every thing necessary for the army with great readiness. We were in Germany; manners there were different; our soldiers had great reason to be pleased with the characteristic hospitality of the Germans. They procured a great quantity of horses and wagons, with greater ease than in Italy; and these were of great service.

The town of Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, was also put in a state of defence; and a provisional government was organized there also. This town has a wall with bastions, but it had been neglected for centuries, and was of no use but for the

police of the city. The houses which covered the ramparts being pulled down, these fortifications became a point of appui for the army.

General Dugua, at Trieste, confiscated all the stores belonging to the English or Austrians; they were considerable, and of all descriptions. Possession was likewise taken of the mines of Idria: quicksilver to the value of several millions of francs was found there, which was forthwith dispatched to Palma-Nuova.

On entering into Carinthia the following proclamation had been published:

"The French army does not come into your country to conquer it, or to enforce any alteration in your religion, manners, or customs. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

"The Executive Directory of the French Republic has spared no endeavour to put an end to the calamities which afflict the continent; it had determined to make the first advance, and to send General Clarke to Vienna, as a Plenipotentiary, to commence negociatiations for peace. But the court of Vienna refused to listen to it; and even declared, at Vicenza, through the medium of M. de St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke demanded a passport, in order to address himself to the Emperor in person; but the ministers of the court of Vienna were justly apprehensive that the moderation of the pro-

posals he was instructed to offer might determine the Emperor to make peace. Those ministers, corrupted by English gold, betray Germany and their prince, and have no other will than that of those treacherous islanders whom all Europe abhors.

"Inhabitants of Carinthia, I know that you detest, as much as we do, both the English, who are the only gainers by the present war, and your ministry which is sold to them. If we have been six years at war, it has been against the will of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the honest unsophisticated inhabitants of Carinthia.

"Well! in spite of England and of the ministers of the court of Vienna, let us be friends. The French Republic has the rights of conquest over you; let them be annulled by a contract of mutual obligation. You will not interfere in a war carried on contrary to your inclinations. You will furnish the provisions of which we may stand in need. On my side, I will protect your religion, manners, and property; I shall require no contribution of you; is not war in itself sufficiently horrible? Have you not suffered enough already, innocent victims of the folly of others? All the taxes you are accustomed to pay the Emperor, will serve to indemnify you for the damage inseparable from the march of an army, and to pay for the provisions you may furnish us with."

IX. *Affairs of the Tyrol.*—Immediately after

the battle of the Tagliamento, the French General sent orders to General Joubert to attack the army opposed to him, to take possession of all the Italian Tyrol, to execute boldly the march which he had prescribed to him, and to penetrate into Carinthia by the Pustherstha1.

General Joubert commenced his operations on the 28th of March, passed the Avisio, defeated the enemy, *took several thousand prisoners, passed the Adige, defeated the enemy at Tramin,* took Bolzano, engaged again at Clausen, forced the passes of *Inspruck on the 28th, repulsed the Austrian troops beyond the Brenner*, and directed his march into Carinthia, after having caused the enemy great loss, and taken 7 or 8,000 of his men. General Joubert shewed much talent, constancy, and activity, in the conduct of this difficult operation. *Generals Delmas, Baraguey d'Hilliers, and Dumas, distinguished themselves. The troops evinced the greatest intrepidity.*

X. *Recapitulation.*—Thus, in seventeen days, the two armies of Prince Charles had been defeated. The enemy, repulsed beyond the Brenner, had evacuated the Tyrol, after having suffered very considerable losses. Austria had lost Palma-Nuova, a very strong fortress, as well as Trieste and Fiume, the only ports of the Austrian monarchy; the province of Goritz, Istria, Carniola, and Carinthia were conquered; the Save, the Drave, and the Noric Alps had been passed. The army was

now only sixty leagues from Vienna. It entertained well founded hopes of arriving there before the end of May.

The Austrian army, disheartened and ruined, could no longer contend with the French army which had not suffered any material loss, and whose resolution and consciousness of superiority were inexpressibly great.

AFFAIRS OF VENICE.

I. *Description of Venice.* — The Republic of Venice, at the period of the French revolution, was the most considerable of the Italian states. In population it was inferior to the kingdom of Naples; but Venice had greatly the superiority in the strength of its government and the advantages of its position. The seat of government was a fortified city, unassailable by land or sea. *Independently of its land forces, it had a squadron which ruled the Adriatic, and caused it to be respected by the whole of the Levant. This city was founded in the fifth century by inhabitants of Friuli and the Paduan district, who fled to the Lagunes to seek shelter from the oppression of barbarians.* Their descendants constantly *maintained themselves independent* of the rulers of Italy.

That fine Peninsula, the prey of revolutions, frequently changed masters. Venice alone, always free and independent, has never acknowledged foreign authority.

Venice is the best situated city and port for commerce of all Italy. All the merchandize of Constantinople and the Levant comes there directly by the shortest road, the Adriatic; thence it spreads

as far as Turin by means of the Po, and throughout Germany by ascending the Adige to the neighbourhood of Botzen, whence it finds roads to Augsburg and Nuremburg. Venice is situated near the mouth of the Po and that of the Adige. It is the port of both these rivers. In another direction it commmunicates by canals with Bologna, so that all the productions *of the great plain of Italy flow through Venice: this city is the nearest sea-port to Augsburg and Munich.*

Nature has made Venice the mart of exchange for the Levant, Italy and southern Germany. Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, this city had the trade of the Indies by Alexandria and the Red Sea. For this reason she made a strong opposition to the operations of the Portuguese. She equipped a considerable fleet in the Red Sea; she established an arsenal, places for taking in water, and magazines near Suez. The remains of them are still to be seen at the fountains of Moses. The Portuguese conquered these fleets, formed at a great expense, and the Venetians, overcome, were compelled to abandon all attempts to stop their success in discovery and in commerce.

The Lagunes, which are formed by the waters of the Piave and the Brenta, communicate with the sea by three passages.

The sovereignty of Venice was vested in the aristocracy of some hundreds of families inscribed in the Golden Book. Their subjects comprehended

a population of from three to four millions, extending round Venice in the richest and most fertile regions in the world; *viz.* those of Bergamo, Brescia, Vicenza, Verona, Padua, Polesino, Treviso, Bassano, Cadore, Belluno, and Friuli, on the main-land of Italy; Istria and Dalmatia on the shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian islands, scattered at its mouth. These main-land provinces are bounded on the north by the upper ridge of the Julian and Tyrolese Alps, from the source of the Adda to that of the Isonzo. This chain of mountains, almost every where impassable, separates them from Germany, with which they have no communication but by the three roads which skirt the Adige, the Tagliamento, and the Ionzo. The vallies of the Adige, the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the Isonzo, belonged in their whole extent to this republic. Its navy consisted of a dozen large ships, as many frigates and small vessels which were sufficient to command the respect of the Barbary states, to rule the Adriatic, and defend its Lagunes. Venice could set on foot 50,000 men, composed of Italian regiments recruited in the main-land, or of Sclavonians, a brave race and *in all ages* devoted to the republic; of these she could raise from ten to fifteen thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; their horses are small but useful. These Sclavonians were the troops in whom the Senate placed confidence: they had the very great advantage of being

strangers to the language and the manners of the main-land.

The city of Venice was very rich, and although its commerce was diminished, it was not destroyed. The families in the golden book alone had any share in the government, they filled the Senate, the Councils, the Assemblies of Forty, and other magistracies; which excluded the nobility of the *terra firma.* Among the latter were a great number of wealthy, illustrious and powerful families, which, being subjected and deprived of all power, existed without credit or influence, and greatly envied the sovereign nobility of Venice.

These nobles of the Terra-firma were partly descended from the ancient *condottieri,* the podestas of old, or other persons who had formerly acted a distinguished part in the republics of their cities, and whose ancestors after having long opposed the enterprizes of the Venetians, had fallen victims to the policy of their republic. Thus traditional enmity, studiously cherished, was added to the hatred created by the nature of the government. *The greater part* of the people made common cause with the nobility of the *terra firma;* there was, however, a portion of them attached to the noble Venetians who had estates and establishments in almost all the provinces. The priests were destitute of credit or consideration in the republic, which had, at an early period, freed itself from all papal influence.

The interest of the head of the house of Austria, who possessed Milan and Mantua in Italy, and a portion of Istria on the Adriatic, was in many respects connected with Venice, which had constant reason to be apprehensive of that monarch, and had always maintained itself against him, by the balance of power in Europe, and especially by the protection of France.

To pass from the Tyrol to Mantua through Lombardy, it is necessary to cross the Venetian territory, from Rivoli to Mantua, being nearly two days march. A military road was secured to Austria by treaties; but the troops were obliged to pass it disarmed, and in small detachments. No other military road was allowed across the country from the Adige to the Isonzo. In the preceding wars in Italy, Austria was obliged to effect the communications of its army by sea, from Trieste to the Po, as convoys could only pass Friuli, and the states of the *terra firma* between Rivoli and Mantua. This gave rise to the cruise of the Chevalier de Forbin, under Louis XIV. who intercepted the communications by sea, from Trieste to the Po.

When the first coalition against France was formed, the allied powers invited this republic to engage in it. It does not appear that any serious discussions arose in the council on this occasion; the members were unanimous. They were so far from the scene of action that they looked upon themselves as unconcerned in these affairs, and

wished to remain neutral. When the Count de Lille chose Verona for his abode, Venice did not allow him to reside there until they obtained the consent of the Committee of Public Safety, which was better satisfied that the pretender should be at Verona than at any other place.

When the French troops, in 1794, marched towards Oneglia, and fixed their camp at Savona, Italy was considered to be threatened with invasion, and several powers assembled in congress at Milan. Venice refused to appear there, not because she disapproved of French principles, but because she was fearful of yielding herself up to the mercy of Austria. Besides, the danger appeared to her very remote.

II. *Opinions in the Senate: the first is that of the friends of Austria; the second of the old senators; the third, of the friends of France.*—But when Napoleon arrived at Milan, (and Beaulieu flying in consternation behind the Mincio, entered Peschiera, and there stationed his right, in hopes of defending the Mincio,) great perplexity and alarm prevailed in the republic. The immense space which had previously separated Venice from the struggle between democracy and aristocracy, had been overrun. The war of principles as well as that of artillery, raged in the bosom of the state. Animated and violent discussions took place in the senate, in which opinions were divided between three parties. Pezzaro and the younger senators, *parti-*

sans of Austria, wished the senate to declare against France. They desired neutrality, but an armed neutrality; wishing strong garrisons to be placed in Peschiera, Brescia, Bergamo, Porto-Legnago and Verona, and that those places should be declared fortresses. They recommended that 50,000 men should be raised; that the canals should be expeditiously put in a state of defence; that gun boats should be fitted out upon them; that a squadron should be prepared to guard the Adriatic; and that in this formidable attitude, war should be declared against the first who should *thereafter* violate the Venetian territory. Those who held this opinion, maintained, that if the last hour was come, it was better to die sword in hand than shamefully; that by defending the territory, French ideas would be prevented from infecting the principal cities; that the more formidable the attitude assumed by the state, the greater the respect it would obtain from both the hostile parties; that if, on the contrary, the gates should be peaceably opened, and the French suffered to enter the great cities of the *terra firma*, then the war between the two great powers would be established in the territory of the republic; and from that moment its sovereignty would be lost. That the first duty of the prince is to protect his subjects; but how could they be protected if the theatre of war were suffered to be established in their dominions? The fields would be ravaged and the towns burnt by both parties suc-

cessively. The unfortunate people would then lose all esteem and respect for the authority which abandoned them. The germes of discontent and jealousy which already existed would ferment with violence; the republic would expire without even deserving the regret of history.

The advice to which all the old senators adhered, *was to take no decisive part.* They confessed that all the dangers were real; that the ambition of Austria and the principles of France were both equally to be dreaded; but that fortunately these evils were transitory. That all the calamities that were apprehended might be avoided by discretion, caution, and patience. That the French were of a conciliating disposition, easily won by caresses; that with friendly treatment, and able governors keeping great household establishments, and having funds at their disposal for secret expenses, the minds of their leaders might be influenced, and their good will secured. *That to declare an armed neutrality for the future was to declare war against France.* That the gates which had been opened to their enemies could not be closed against them without furnishing them with just grounds of war. Could any one, then, seriously think of resisting them with a few thousand Sclavonians? The republic could not rely on the Brescian or Bergomasque countries, which would rebel at the very first outset; and that if it came to fighting, the French would immediately find, in their partisans

of the *terra firma*, a counterpoise to the levies which the republic might bring against them from Dalmatia. That the existing evils were, undoubtedly great; the crisis dangerous; but the danger by no means so imminent as represented by enthusiastic imaginations. The republic had rode out much more terrible storms, the great object was to gain time; on that wise principle their ancestors had preserved the state. Happily providence had established their capital *in an impregnable city. That all the efforts of the republic ought to be exclusively directed to the strengthening of that city; and that patience, moderation, and time, must be relied on in all other respects.*

A third opinion which was ascribed to the proveditore Bataglia, found support in the assembly. The existence of the republic, said he, is actually in danger. On one side it is attacked by the French principles, subversive of our constitution; on the other by Austria, hostile to our independence. Of these two inevitable evils, let us choose the last. The worst, in my opinion, is slavery to Austria. Let us increase the Golden Book, and inscribe in it such of the nobility of the *terra firma* as deserve it; from that moment there will be no more divisions, no more opposition amongst us. Let us garrison our fortresses, fit out our fleets, and raise 50,000 men; then meet the French General, and offer him an offensive and defensive alliance. That will, perhaps, lead to some altera-

tions in our constitution; but we shall preserve our independence and our liberty. Is it the first time that the Golden Book has been augmented? An armed neutrality against both parties has been talked of. Two years ago, when the storm began, this would have been the most eligible course. It was just, because it was equal towards both the belligerent parties; it would have been practicable, because there would have been time to prepare for it. If you were now to proclaim it, you would be declaring war *against France. You cannot deny the French what you have permitted or tolerated in the Austrians. Can it be proposed to to you to go to war with the French army, which is victorious, and may be at your gates in a week, while you have not even any treaty existing with Austria; and even were there one, that power* could not render you any assistance for two months. What would become of the republic in two months, with an enemy so enterprising and active? The second plan which is proposed, that of patience and time, is as bad as the first. Political circumstances are not now the same; times are greatly altered; the present crisis does not resemble any of those over which the old republic has formerly triumphed: we cannot learn from the example of our ancestors. The French principles are in all men's heads, they spread in all directions: they are an inundating torrent which it would be in vain to hope to stop by the dykes of patience, moderation, and fawning. The

French partly exists in all the provinces. The measure I propose to you is the only one which can save you: it is plain, noble, and generous; I repeat it; *Let us meet the French General, and conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him.* Austria will then be too weak to cause us any apprehensions of becoming her prey. *We may contribute effectually* to the success of the French; we may reinforce them *with* 25,000 *men, keeping at the same time, as many as we need for Venice, and assisting them, besides,* with our influence over public opinion, and with our local advantages; that will all be very easy, because *all the parties which now divide the state* will be united in their progress and their objects. Our independence will be secured; we shall save the great foundations of our constitution. The French, reinforced by us, will immediately take possession of Mantua, and thus carry the war beyond our boundaries. If, notwithstanding our assistance, the French should be defeated, and *obliged to repass the Adda,* we could defend ourselves against Austria. Austria has no party in our territories; at Brescia and Bergamo, there is no man who would not willingly take up arms to avoid being an Austrian subject: *the weight of France,* and the interest of England and Switzerland would save us.

This advice inflamed the passions of all parties; it made an impression on all men of understanding; but succeeded with very *few of the Senators.* How

could they think of diminishing their privileges? Family and personal interest prevailed over the good of the nation. This resolution was too great for a degenerate race incapable of any grand ideas. Accordingly, it was neither Napoleon's invasion of Italy, nor the French principles, which ruined Venice; but the conduct of its government, and the stupefaction of those who composed it. As it often happens on great occasions, they adopted the worst measure possible, relying chiefly on chance and providence.

III. *Conduct of the Proveditores, Mocenigo, Foscarelli, and Bataglia.* The Proveditore Mocenigo, according to his instructions, received the General-in-chief at Brescia, in a magnificent manner. There was nothing but sumptuous carriages, grand entertainments, and splendid banquets. Never had France possessed better friends than the Venetians; every noble wished to become the particular friend of the French General. On the other hand, these entertainments to which all the nobility of the country was invited, promoted the connexions of the French officers with the principal families; none of them could hesitate to invite to their house the generals and officers with whom they had become acquainted at the Proveditore's.

The Proveditore Foscarelli acted in the same manner at Verona; he gave entertainments too; but being of an unbending character, he could not dissemble his real sentiments; he was one of the

most hostile to France amongst the Senators. He could not complain of the entrance of the French into Peschiera, because Beaulieu had gone before them; but when he was asked for the keys of the arsenal, to line the ramparts, and when preparations were made for arming the gallies, Foscarelli complained that the French General was violating the neutrality of the republic. Beaulieu had, it was allowed, entered the fortifications of Peschiera; he had even fired cannon on the French from its ramparts; but then it was with his own guns!!! When the French General arrived at Peschiera, Foscarelli waited on him to endeavour to dissuade him from coming to Verona, as he had announced his intention of doing, threatening to shut the gates and defend them with his cannon. "It is too late," said the French General, taking out his watch. "My troops have entered by this time. I am obliged to establish a defence on the Adige, during the siege of Mantua. It is not with 1500 Sclavonians that you can secure me, and oppose the passage of the Austrian army. If you could, why have you not done it? Neutrality consists in having the same weight and measure for every one. If you are friends to the French, you cannot possibly refuse them what you have allowed, or at least tolerated in their enemies."

When the keys of the armories and powder-magazines were demanded for the purpose of arming Verona, and when it became necessary to de-

molish a few toll-houses for the purpose of forming a demi-lune before Verona, on the Vicenza road, Foscarelli, in the utmost agitation, demanded an audience of the French General, and talked to him a long time, about the violation of the sovereignty of the republic. These various discussions reported to the Senate, convinced it that Foscarelli did not possess the precise qualities adapted to the circumstances. Conceiving that Bataglia would be more agreeable to Napoleon, they sent him as Proveditore-General of all the provinces beyond the Adige. He was a complaisant well-informed man, of conciliating manners, sincerely attached to the republic of Venice, enthusiastic towards France as it was in former times, and preferring even republican France to Austria. By degrees the theatre of war extended itself over the whole of the Venetian possessions; but it was always the Austrians who first entered new territories. *Beaulieu first occupied Peschiera and Verona.* Wurmser first threw himself into Bassano, and first crossed Vicenza and Padua; Alvinzi and the Archduke Charles were at a subsequent period the first to occupy Friuli, Palma-Nuova, and as far as the most easterly limits of the republic.

IV. *Factions at Brescia, Bergamo, and Verona.* In the mean time great agitation prevailed throughout the *terra firma*; and discontent gained ground rapidly. To the natural causes of disaffection inherent in the constitution of Venice, were now

added others arising from the intercourse of the people with the French, the attractiveness of their new opinions, and the admiration excited by their victories over Wurmser, and their successes obtained against Alvinzi. Italy was generally regarded as lost to Austria, and it was thought that the expulsion of the Austrians must be followed by the fall of the aristocracy. The French General constantly endeavoured to moderate these sentiments. When he returned from Tolentino, solely engaged in his scheme of marching on Vienna, he applied his whole attention to the prevention of the troubles which might take place during his absence from Italy. The Venetian States caused him much uneasiness; irritation had constantly kept increasing in that quarter. Brescia and Bergamo had nearly effected a revolution. The Fenaroli, the Martinengue, the Lecchi, the Alexandri, were at the head of these commotions, and constituted the first and richest families. These two cities exercised a sort of independent government, under the name of municipality; they received and disposed of the public money, and appointed to offices. If the Lion of St. Mark was still seen there, it was rather out of deference to the will of the French General, than an act of submission to the sovereignty of Venice. Nothing was heard but severe and violent declamations against the Venetian nobility, both in conversation and through the medium of the press. The injustice of their

sovereignty was warmly protested against on all sides. "What right has Venice," said the people, "to govern our cities? Are we less brave, enlightened, or wealthy than the Venetians? When several provinces acknowledge a monarch who resides in the capital, it is easily accounted for; because the provinces and the capital are equal in his eyes, are all subject to the same laws, and entitled to the same privileges. But for the Venetian nobility to arrogate to themselves exclusive sovereignty over us, who are in every respect their equals, is a monstrous, insupportable, and revolting absurdity."

On the other hand, the pride of the Senators was highly offended at seeing subjects, who had for centuries submitted to the sway of their ancestors, forget the immense distance by which they were separated. They omitted no exertion to oblige them to return to their duty. They increased their Sclavonian levies, threatened the insurgents with the successes of the Austrians, called them jacobins, and spread the most alarming reports respecting the French. Every thing proclaimed the approach of a violent shock.

Bataglia, in his despatches to the Senate, softened the outrages of the Brescians; and mitigated the rage and fury of the Senate in the eyes of the latter. Always conciliating, he never ceased, in his numerous communications with the French General, to endeavour to interest him for the republic. He

was, however, too enlightened, not to perceive that it was impossible to pacify such violently conflicting passions in an amicable manner.

V. *Difficulties attending the Venetian affairs.*—The French General long meditated on the state of affairs. It seemed to him impossible thus to leave in his rear three millions of persons abandoned to disorder and anarchy. He had no more influence over the friends of France, than over the Senate itself; he might, indeed, prevent their *taking particular steps,* but he could not hinder them from talking, writing, and personally irritating the Senate in a multitude of *details of administration* to which he was a stranger. It was, however, necessary to decide on a line of conduct. To disarm the people of Brescia and Bergamo, to declare himself entirely for the Senate, and proscribe all innovators, would have been to alienate the popular party, without securing the attachment of the Senate. And if this atrocious policy could have entered the mind of the French General, its result would infallibly have been, as under Louis XII, the eventual union of the whole population against him. To induce the Senate to form an alliance with France, modifying its constitution, and conciliating the people of the *terra firma,* would doubtless have been the best course: and the French General had accordingly done all in his power to induce them to adopt it. Whenever he *gained* a victory, he renewed this proposal, but it was always unsuccessful. *A third*

course was practicable: to march upon Venice, seize that capital, and there effect by force the necessary political alteration, by modifying its laws, and giving the predominance to the partisans of France. This was the true way of cutting the knot which could not be untied. But when, after resolving on this scheme, it became necessary to fix the time for carrying it into execution, he found it impossible to adapt it to circumstances, and to his grand project on Vienna.

He could not march upon Venice, so long as Prince Charles should be on the Piave, it was therefore necessary to begin with defeating him, and driving him out of Italy. But when this great success should be obtained, would it then be eligible to relinquish the fruits of victory? Would it be right to delay the passage of the mountains, for the purpose of bringing the war to the neighbourhood of Venice? This would be giving Prince Charles time to recover, to reconnoitre, obtain reinforcements, and create new difficulties. Venice could not be attacked without Prince Charles being previously defeated, since he covered that city; *and it ought not to be attacked after his defeat, because time would then be too precious, and it would be proper to pursue him to Vienna.* Venice was very strong; it was defended by its lakes, and a great number of armed vessels, while 15,000 Sclavonians formed its garrison. Being mistress of the Adriatic, Venice might receive additional troops; and her

walls inclosed the moral strength of all those sovereign families which were about to fight for their political existence. Who could estimate the value of the time which our troops might consume in this new enterprise? and if the struggle should be prolonged, what effect might not such a resistance produce on the rest of Italy? Nor did this new war want for opposition at Paris. Venice had a very active minister there; the councils were opposed to the directory; the directory itself was much divided. Napoleon knew, that if he consulted the directory respecting the enterprise on Venice, *they would not answer, or would avoid the question.* If he should act of his own accord, as he had hitherto done, without asking for any authority, he was certain, should he fail of immediate success, to be reproached with a violation of all principles. As a General-in-chief, he had only a right to repel force by force; a new war against an independent power could not be commenced without orders from his government; it would have been incurring the guilt of usurping the rights of sovereignty.

Thus the *decisive* step of *declaring war against Venice,* could not be taken: 1st. Because the General had no right to do so: 2dly. Because it was incompatible with the plan *of carrying the war into Germany without delay.* The episode *of Venice* might become a principal affair, which would cause the failure of the *grand affair* of Vienna; it was, therefore, necessary to determine on simple military

precautions, as far as regarded the Venetians. Brescia and Bergamo were sure, as well as all the countries on the right bank of the Adige; the French troops occupied the citadels of those two cities. Verona, which was less favourably disposed towards us, was kept in awe, not only by its castles, which were well provisioned, but also by the old palace on the right bank, which, being put in a state of defence, became an actual citadel in the midst of the town, and rendered its possessors absolute masters of one of the three stone bridges. All the troops which *had been employed* in the expedition against the pope, were destined to form a reserve, which should be stationed about Verona, ready to proceed to any point where they might be required.

VI. *Conference with Pezzaro.*—At the instant of the opening of the new campaign, Napoleon, who was more anxious than ever on account of the progress of affairs at Venice, having a presentiment of some secret machinations on the part of the Senate, resolved to make another effort towards a negotiation, and desired to have an interview with Pezzaro, *the head of the Austrian party,* who at that moment conducted all the affairs of the republic. Pezzaro described the critical state of the republic, the bad disposition of the people, the legitimate complaints against *Brescia and Bergamo, and their partisans in the other provinces* of the *terra firma.* He said that difficult circumstances obliged the Senate to resort to strong mea-

sures, and to extraordinary armaments, which ought not to give any umbrage to the French General; that the Senate was under the necessity of making arrests in Venice and the *terra firma,* and that it would be unjust to regard those steps as rigorous proceedings on the part of the Senate against the partisans of France, when they were, in fact, only the just punishment of turbulent citizens, who wanted to overthrow the laws of their country. The French General did not dispute the critical situation of Venice; but without wasting his time in discussing the causes of those difficulties, he came fairly to the point: "You wish to arrest those whom you call your enemies, and whom we call our friends; you nominate to official situations, persons who are notorious for their hatred of us, and their connections with the Austrians; your troops increase; they are marching they say against the jacobins. *What more remains for you to do, to be openly at war with us?* A war against France, would be your total and immediate ruin; in vain would you reckon upon Prince Charles; your calculation would be erroneous, I shall beat him and drive him out of Italy, in less than eight days. There is one way to get out of the disagreeable situation we are in. I am willing to put an end to your sufferings, I offer you the alliance of the republic; I will secure you all your estates in the *terra firma,* not excepting your authority in Brescia and Bergamo. *You shall declare war against Austria, and give me* 10,000

men as a contingent. I think it would be right to enter the principal families of the terra firma in the Golden Book; but I do not make it a condition sine quâ non. Return to Venice; get the Senate to deliberate, and come and sign a treaty which alone can save your country, and secure an amicable understanding between us. Pezzaro had gone a great length; he wanted to gain time; he confessed the wisdom of the plan, and departed for Venice, promising to return in less than a fortnight.

During this interval, many events took place. On the 13th of March the French army passed the Piave. As soon as Pezzaro was informed of this, he dispatched orders to Bergamo to arrest fourteen of the principal inhabitants, and bring them before the Council of Ten. These inhabitants were the leaders of the patriotic party; they got intelligence of what was intended from a clerk at Venice attached to their party, intercepted the courier who was the bearer of the order, arrested the proveditore himself, and proclaimed the liberty of Bergamo on the 14th of March. They sent deputies to the French General, to inform him of these events, who did not overtake him until they arrived at the field of the battle of the Tagliamento. This intelligence was extremely unwelcome to him, but there was no remedy. The people of Bergamo had already entered into a confederacy with Milan, the capital of the republic of Lombardy, and with Bologna, the capital of the Transpadan republic.

A similar revolution took place, a few days after, at Salo and Brescia. The 2,000 Selavonians who were in the latter town were disarmed; the proveditore Bataglia was respected, but sent back to Verona. Pezzaro returned according to his promise; he rejoined the French General at Palma-Nuova. Prince Charles had been defeated on the Tagliamento, Palma-Nuova had opened its gates, and the French flag waved at Tarvis, beyond the Izonzo, on the summit of the Noric Alps.

"Have I kept my word?" said Napoleon, "The Venetian territory is covered with my troops; the Germans are flying before me; I shall be in Germany in a few days. What does your republic desire? I have offered her the alliance of France; does she accept it?"—"No," said Pezzaro, "Venice rejoices in your triumphs; she knows well that she can only exist by means of France; but constant to her ancient wise policy, she wishes to remain neutral. Besides, what good could we do you? Under Louis XII. or Francis I. we were of some weight in the scale of battle; but now, with such immense armies, with whole populations under arms, *what value can you set on our assistance?*" "But do you still continue your armaments?"—"We must do so," said Pezzaro. "Brescia and Bergamo have raised the standard of rebellion. Our faithful subjects are threatened, at Crema, Chiari, and Verona; Venice itself is disturbed!"—"Well," replied the French General, "Are not these addi-

tional reasons for accepting the proposals I have made you. They would put an end to all these troubles. But your fate hurries you on; reflect, however; it is a more decisive moment for your republic than you think. I leave a greater force in Italy, than would suffice to subject you; I am quitting Italy to penetrate deep into Germany; if there should be troubles in my rear, through your fault,—if my soldiers should be insulted through your exciting yours *against the jacobins;* that which will have been no crime while I remained in Italy, will be an unpardonable one when I am in Germany; your republic would cease to exist; you would have pronounced its condemnation. *If I have reason to complain of you, whether I am victorious or defeated, I will make peace at your expense.*" Pezzaro of course made many protestations and excuses, and then took his leave.

The proposals of the French General had been warmly discussed in the Senate and rejected. "What would be the end of such an alliance?" it had been said. "The loss of our 10,000 Sclavonians. At the first battle, on the first victory, we should no longer possess them. Napoleon would give them honours and rewards; he would infallibly draw them away by that magic which always chains the soldier to the general who leads him to victory." They *decreed,* accordingly, the alliance with Austria, and sent instructions to their envoy *at Vienna to conclude* the treaty, notwithstanding

the defeat of Prince Charles. Thus did this ancient republic run blindly to its ruin, and become the dupe of the treacherous and machiavelian policy of Vienna.

VII. *Insurrection at Venice; Massacre of the French at Verona.* Laudon, commander of the Tyrolese levy which had retreated to Inspruck, before Joubert, no sooner found that General entered into the Puthersthal, than he returned into the Tyrol, to continue the organization of his insurrection, and to follow the small French corps of observation which was retiring on the debouchés of Italy, to protect Verona. Laudon had few troops; almost all those which had been opposed to Joubert had received orders to file off as quickly as possible to join Prince Charles. This movement in the Tyrol was, therefore, of little importance. It had been expected by Napoleon, but he had thought it of the utmost importance to have all his troops at hand.

Laudon, with the activity and address of a true partisan, inundated the country with proclamations and news; he spread reports that the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse had been annihilated in attempting to repass the Rhine; that the Tyrol had been the tomb of the French; and that Joubert's army had perished. He exhorted the Venetians and all Italy to a general revolt, and called upon them to rise *en masse* in the rear of the French. At the same moment similar intel-

ligence, spread by the friends of Pezzaro, arrived from Venice. Thus coming from two different sources, it is no wonder that it easily obtained belief in the Venetian States, particularly as the armies of the Rhine had actually sustained a similar check in the former year. At Brescia and Bergamo, where the partisans of liberty were the strongest, they immediately took up arms, arranged their plans with the French governors, and sent deputations to Milan, Modena, and Bologna, in order to secure mutual support.

But at Verona, where the party *of the Senate* prevailed, and which Pezzaro considered as *the point of appui of his party*, the people, the military, and the magistrates all rose against the French; many of whom were arrested in their houses: four hundred of our sick were murdered in the hospitals; the French were compelled to shut themselves up in the external forts of Verona, and in that which had been formed within the city, at the entrance of the third bridge.

Kilmaine, who would not suffer himself to be cut off from Victor when the latter should return from Rome, left the city with such part of his force as was not required for guarding the castles, and retired to the Mincio. Thus the lion of St. Mark arose triumphant and terrible; for instead of repressing this dangerous commotion, Pezzaro's party entered heartily into it, whether they really believed the account of Joubert's destruction, whe-

ther they were ignorant that Victor's corps of reserve, already near Verona, was coming up with all possible expedition; or, finally, whether, in their blind animosity, they were in hopes of destroying all innovators, and *of having time to make a grand example of them; or whether it was merely to glut oligarchical revenge*, they filled the *terra firma* with Sclavonian detachments, and furiously pursued the patriots, ringing the tocsin, and repeating the cry of Death *to the innovators* and their adherents.

In vain did the French minister to the Senate, exert himself to make it sensible of the abyss it was digging for itself; in vain he denied the alleged reverses in the Tyrol, and those of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse and Rhine; in vain he explained to them the plan of the campaign; shewed them that Joubert's movement was part of a fixed plan; that he was marching on Carinthia by the Puthersthal, and that, instead of being ruined, he had attained his object. No credit was given to his assurances; the contrary was too eagerly wished for; passion prevailed; and they would believe nothing unfavourable to their hopes.

The Court of Vienna at the same time took care to promise to sign whatever Venice should propose. It was perfectly sensible that an insurrection in the rear of the French was highly advantageous to its interest.

On account of a corps of reserve left by the

French General at Palma-Nuova, of the garrison of Osopo, and of the prudence of the proveditore Mocenigo, fewer excesses were committed in Friuli. Perhaps the people of that country, being nearer the French army, were also better informed with respect to events. The Brescians and others of the *terra firma*, however, as well as all the Italians of the republics, evinced courage and energy against the Venetians. At the same time, marching battalions proceeded from all our depôts, and trains of artillery from our fortresses. *Victor's* division *at length* arrived from the expedition to Rome, although late, and Verona was soon blockaded by an army: the insurgents made a powerful resistance; they yielded only to superior forces, and to reiterated attacks, and maintained themselves up to the 24th of April.

VIII. *The aide-de-camp Junot sent to the Senate of Venice.*—As soon as the French General was informed of the disorders and murders which were committed in his rear, he sent his aid-de-camp Junot to Venice, charged with a letter for the Senate, dated from Jundenburg, the 19th of April, and couched in the following terms:

"Throughout the terra firma the subjects of the most serene republic are in arms; the rallying cry is *Death to the French!*

"The number of the soldiers of the army of Italy who have fallen victims, already amounts to several hundreds. In vain you affect to disavow

the tumults and mobs which you yourselves instigated. Do you imagine that I who have succeeded in carrying our arms into the heart of Germany, shall want strength to force you to respect the first nation in the world? Do you think the legions of Italy will endure the massacres you excite? The blood of my brethren in arms shall be avenged; and there is not a single French battalion, which, when charged with that generous mission, will not feel conscious of three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you. The Senate of Venice has returned the generosity with which we always behaved towards it, with the blackest perfidy.

" I now send you my proposals by one of my aides-de-camp, commanding a brigade: *Peace or war.* If you do not instantly take all necessary measures for dispersing mobs and suppressing tumults; if you do not instantly arrest and deliver into my hands the authors of the murders which are committed, war is declared.

" The Turk is not on your frontiers, no enemy menaces you, and yet you have, in pursuance of a premeditated design, caused priests to be arrested in order to produce a popular tumult, and to turn it against the army. I give you twenty-four hours to suppress it: the times of Charles VIII. are gone by.

" If, notwithstanding the indulgence which the French government has shown towards you, you

reduce me to the necessity of making war; do not imagine that the French soldier, like the robbers whom you have armed, will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of the Terra Firma. No; I will protect them, and they shall bless the very crimes that have obliged the French army to wrest them from your tyrannical sway."

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

The aide-de-camp had orders to read this letter himself to the assembled Senate, and to express to them all the indignation which their conduct had excited. But terror had already seized on Venice; the illusion was dissolved. It was known that the armies of the Rhine had never stirred, and had sustained no reverse; that Joubert had arrived at Villach with his whole army; that Victor, having returned from Rome, was investing Verona; that Augereau, returned from a mission to Paris, was advancing on the lagunes with a division of marching battalions; and finally, that Napoleon, victorious in every battle, had spread terror even into Vienna; that he had just granted a suspension of arms to his enemies; and that they had sent plenipotentiaries to him to sue for peace. The dejection of the Venetians was extreme.

The French minister presented Junot; the Senate received him with the greatest humility. All means were employed to soften him. But he fulfilled his mission with all the bluntness of a soldier, which greatly increased the terror of the Senate,

and in the same proportion encouraged the friends of liberty, and induced them to take the upper hand in the city. The Senate sent a grand deputation to the French General, offering him any reparation he could desire, and promising to submit to whatever he might think fit to prescribe. *Every expedient was tried; millions were offered to all who were thought to have any influence; all was unavailing.* The Senate then dispatched couriers to Paris, and placed considerable sums at the disposal of its ministers, in order to gain over *the members of the Directory*, and induce them to give the French General such orders as would save *Venice.* All these attempts were fruitless with respect to the French General: but they succeeded at Paris. The distribution of some money, and the promise of 10 millions, procured the minister of Venice favourable letters, and the dispatch of corresponding orders. But they were not ratified with all the forms desired; besides, the dispatches of the minister to the Senate were intercepted. The French General there found the clue to the whole intrigue; the amount of the sums given, and of the bills of exchange; and by this discovery all was annulled.

Towards the end of April, Napoleon returned by Gratz, Laybach, Trieste, and Palma-Nuova; thence he passed to Trevisa, on the edge of the lagunes, visited the different debouchés of the canals, and on the 3d of May published an order of

the day, by which, grounding his proceedings on the natural law of repelling force by force, he declared war against Venice. This order of the day completed the terror and confusion of that city. The arms fell from every hand; defence was no longer even thought of. The Grand Council of the Aristocracy dissolved itself, and restored to the people the sovereignty, of which a municipal body became the depository. Thus these oligarchs, so proud, so long consulted by the French General, whose alliance had been courted with so much good faith, fell without any means of salvation. In their last agonies, they in vain solicited the interference of the court of Vienna; in vain they requested it to include them in the suspension of arms, and negociation for peace. That court was deaf to all their entreaties: it had its views.

IX. *The French troops enter Venice—Revolution in that city.* Baraguay d'Hilliers entered Venice with his division, towards the middle of May. He took possession of the lagunes, the forts, the batteries of the town, and planted the tricoloured flag in St. Mark's Place on the 16th. The friends of freedom immediately met in a popular assembly; the aristocracy was abolished, and Dandolo, an advocate of Venice, placed himself at the head of all affairs. The lion of St. Mark, and the famous horses of Corinth, which were in that city, were transported to Paris. Twelve 64 gun ships, as many frigates, and some smaller vessels were

found; they were all manned and sent to Toulon.

Corfu was one of the most important points of the Venetian republic. General Gentili, the same who had been sent to retake Corsica, was sent there with four battalions and some companies of artillery; a squadron formed of Venetian ships took possession of that place, the true key of the Adriatic, as well as of the other six Ionian islands, Zante, Cerigo, Cephalonia, &c.

Pezzaro and his principal friends remained overwhelmed with general odium. They were accused of having ruined the republic, by entrusting its fate to the Austrians. They fled from Venice, and took refuge at Vienna. Bataglia sincerely regretted the ruin of his country. Having long censured the course which was followed, he had too clearly foreseen the catastrophe, and survived it but a short time.

X. *Revolution throughout the Terra Firma* On the reception of the order of the day, declaring war against Venice, the whole Terra Firma revolted against the capital. Every city proclaimed its independence, and formed a government. Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, Bassano, and Udine, immediately became so many separate republics. It was on the same system that the Cispadan and Transpadan republics had begun. The principles of the French revolution were universally adopted; the convents were restricted; national domains were

established, feudal privileges were suppressed; the flower of the nobility and great proprietors united in squadrons of hussars and chasseurs, under the title of *Guards of Honour;* the inferior classes associated in battalions of national guards. The national colours of Italy were adopted, and confederacies were established.

Notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the French General to prevent abuses and malversations, these malpractices were more frequent at this time than at any other period of the war of Italy. The country was divided between two very violent factions; the passions were more ardent, and the excesses more daring.

At the time of the surrender of Verona, the mount of piety in that city, which possessed seven or eight millions, was robbed. The commissary Bouquet, and Andrieux, a colonel of hussars, accused of this horrible spoliation, were arrested. This robbery was the more atrocious, as it was aggravated by a series of crimes committed in order to conceal it, and as the sufferers were the poor and indigent. All that could be found in the houses of the accused was restored to the proprietors, whose loss was nevertheless very considerable.

FRAGMENTS ON LEOBEN.

IV. *Operations of Joubert in the Tyrol.*—Joubert had defeated the enemy on the Avisio, on the 20th of March, taking several thousand prisoners; had pursued him to Bolzen, defeated him again at Clausen, and directing his march on the right, by the Puthersthal, along the Drave, had marched to enter Carinthia, and to take the left of the French army. He had left a corps of observation on the Avisio to cover Verona in Italy. This corps was, in case of necessity, to fall back on Montebaldo.

Bernadotte, on his side, after having organized Carniola, had rejoined the army, leaving a corps of observation under the command of General Friant, to cover Laybach; as there was an appearance of menace on the side of Croatia. Austria had made a considerable levy amongst that population of a peculiar and wholly military organization. Friant had had several brilliant affairs, but not expecting to maintain Fiume, he contented himself with taking up a position proper for covering Laybach and Trieste. He had, moreover, been instructed, in case of need, to regain Palma-Nuova, which had been well armed, and to increase the corps of observation which had been left there

to cover Italy. From Clagenfurt the French army continued to march towards the Mur.

Prince Charles was in hopes of being able to maintain his ground in the passes of Neumarck; it was of great importance to him to be enabled to cover his communications with Salzburg; the Inn, and the Tyrol, whence he expected very considerable reinforcements. In order to be more sure of them, he requested a suspension of arms of the French General, who, comprehending his aim, refused it. He was then attacked at Neumarck, and forced without striking a blow; he lost some cannon and prisoners. A division of grenadiers from the Rhine covered his retreat; he was again attacked and defeated once more at Hundsmarck. In short, our head quarters reached Jundenburg, and our advanced posts were pushed as far as the Simmering. Thenceforth all Prince Charles's calculations, with respect to his reinforcements, were frustrated. We now cut him off from the two roads of the Tyrol and of Salzburg. The troops which had been opposed to Joubert in the Tyrol, and which the Prince had recalled to him, and those much more considerable forces which were on their march from the Rhine, by Salzburg, to join him, both which were now advanced in those cross roads, were obliged to retrograde, having thenceforth no prospect of rallying round Prince Charles, except behind the Simmering.

Disorder and terror prevailed in Vienna. Nothing could stop this terrible French army. All those positions deemed impregnable, all those passes which it had been judged impossible to force, were now cleared, and the tricoloured flag waved on the top of the Simmering, three days' march from Vienna. Part of the Imperial family had left that capital; Maria Louisa, who afterwards married Napoleon, then six years of age, was sent away with her sisters; the archives and most valuable effects were removed into Hungary; all the principal families, imitating that of the sovereign, hastily removed all that was most precious to them; and people of the best understanding considered the monarchy as being on the eve of a total overthrow.

When the French General opened the campaign, the government had promised him that as soon as he should have passed the Isonzo, the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse, consisting of more than 250,000 men, should leave their winter quarters and penetrate into Germany. But the Isonzo had long since been passed, and these armies still remained in their winter quarters. The French General, taking advantage of the victory of the Tagliamento, and of the wrong directions in which Prince Charles had moved his columns, had cleared all obstacles between the Alps and the Simmering, without loss, and by that one victory.

VII. *Napoleon writes to Prince Charles.* The

day after the victory of the Tagliamento, Napoleon informed the Directory that he had closely followed Prince Charles, and that the French colours would soon wave on the heights of the Simmering; that he trusted the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse were on their march, or that at least they soon would be so; he was particularly urgent, above all things, to be informed of the precise moment of their moving; the delay of a fortnight or three weeks was of little importance to him, but he ought to be informed of it, in order to act accordingly. He stated that he should always keep all his army united and disposable, and that his dispositions would be such that he should always be master of the course of events; it would therefore be sufficient merely to acquaint him with the precise moment of the march of these two armies. It was at Clagenfurt that he received the answer to this dispatch: it brought him the congratulations of the Directory on his new successes; but contained, at the same time, the extraordinary declaration that the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse would not pass the Rhine; and that a diversion by them in Germany must not be reckoned upon, because the calamities of the last campaign had deprived them of their boats and other requisite equipments. This strange dispatch could only have originated in some intrigues or political views which it was useless to attempt to penetrate into; but it was no longer feasible for

the French General to accomplish what had been the object of his most ardent wishes, the planting of his colours on the ramparts of Vienna. He could no longer think of passing the Simmering consistently with the rules of prudence. Accordingly, two hours after receiving the courier, he wrote to Prince Charles, that being empowered to negociate, he offered him the glory of giving peace to the world, and of terminating the misfortunes of his country.

" M. General in chief,—Brave soldiers, though they make war, are desirous of peace. Has not the present contest lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and sufficiently afflicted humanity? Her voice calls loudly upon us. Europe, after taking up arms against the French republic, has laid them down; your nation stands alone, yet blood is about to flow more profusely than ever. This sixth campaign opens under sinister omens; whatever may be its issue, we shall kill, on both sides, some thousands of men more, and after all, we must necessarily come to an agreement, since all things have an end; not excepting vindictive passions.

" The Executive Directory of the French Republic had communicated to his Majesty the Emperor, its desire of putting an end to the war which ravages all nations; the intervention of the court of London opposed this measure. Is there then no hope of coming to an understanding? and must we, for

the sake of serving the interest and gratifying the passions of a nation, which is a stranger to the calamities of war, continue this mutual slaughter? You, M. General-in-chief, who, by your birth are so near the throne, and above all those little passions which often inspire ministers and governments, are you resolved to merit the title of a benefactor of humanity at large, and saviour of Germany? Do not imagine, sir, that I mean to insinuate, that it is impossible to save Germany by force of arms; but even supposing the chances of war should become favourable to you, that would not preserve your country from devastation. For my part, sir, should the overture I have now made prove the means of saving the life of one individual I should be prouder of the civic crown which I should think I had thereyb merited, than of all the mournful glory which results from military successes."

I request, &c.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

This news allowed them to breath again at Vienna, and gave them some hopes. The marquis de Gallo, Neapolitan Ambassador, was immediately sent to the French General; but having no powers, he was obliged to return, after a conference of two hours. The following day Generals Bellegarde and Merfelt came to the French head quarters of Jundenburg, and on giving their word of honour that plenipotentiaries were on the road from Vienna to treat of a definitive peace, they ob-

tained a suspension of arms, which secured the French army the possession of the countries it already occupied, and others also which it did not yet occupy, but which were necessary for its line. The Austrian Generals could scarcely comprehend why the French General, in his fine situation, granted an armistice, they accounted for it solely by the inaction of the French armies on the Rhine.

Napoleon, however, keenly felt the force of circumstances; he lamented, in his heart, that a defect of combination, or a vain jealousy should deprive him of the immense advantages he was on the eve of obtaining. Although he had been indifferent to the glory of entering Rome, he had conceived a passionate desire to enter Vienna, and nothing but the declaration of the Directory could at this time have prevented him.

IX. The preliminaries were signed at Leoben. In order to sign them the parties met at a little country house, which was neutralized for the purpose. The secretaries first drew up the *proces-verbal* of the neutralization, and the respective plenipotentiaries afterwards repaired thither to sign. The Austrian commissioners had introduced, in the beginning of the treaty, that the Emperor recognized the French republic. "Strike "that out," said Napoleon, "the existence of the republic is as visible as the sun; such an article would only become the blind. We are our own masters; we will establish what government we

please, without the interference of any person whomsoever."

At Leoben the French head-quarters were at the bishop's house. It was Passion-week; all the ceremonies of that week and Easter were performed with the greatest solemnity, in the midst of the French army. This army, accustomed to respect the worship and faith of the countries it inhabited, acted, on this occasion just as the Austrian troops would have done, which gave the highest satisfaction to the people and clergy.

The preliminaries had been signed at Leoben on the 18th; and on the 20th the French General received new dispatches from the Directory, announcing that the armies of the Rhine were in motion, that they were about to pass the Rhine, and would very soon be in the heart of Germany. In fact, a few days afterwards, intelligence arrived that the army of the Sambre and Meuse under the command of Hoche, had passed the Rhine on the 19th, the eve of the very day on which the preliminaries of Leoben were signed, but forty days after the opening of the campaign in Italy. Adjutant General Dessolles, who was bearer of the preliminaries to Paris, met our troops engaged with those of the enemy. It is difficult to explain the cause of this sudden change in the system of the government. If Napoleon had heard of the new intentions of the Directory on the 17th instead of the 20th, it is certain that the preliminaries would

not have been signed, or that much better conditions would have been exacted. Those, however, which were obtained, far exceeded the hopes of the Directory, which, in its instructions to the French General, had authorized him to conclude peace whenever the constitutional frontiers of the republic should be acknowledged. It is true, that in giving these instructions, the Directory was far from foreseeing the success and influence which the army would acquire, and therefore, could not know what it would be in a situation to demand.

X. Amongst the different causes to which the strange conduct of the Directory on this occasion was ascribed, it was thought that there were many persons in France who regarded the great fame of Napoleon with some jealousy; his bold and decided manner of proceeding alarmed them with respect to the ulterior objects which his ambition might possibly keep in view. The proclamation, by which he had protected the exiled priests in Italy, and which had gained him many partisans in France; his respectful style towards the pope; his refusal to destroy the Holy See; his delicacy towards the King of Sardinia, and the aristocracies of Genoa and Venice; all these circumstances had made deep impressions, and were often commented upon with very malignant intentions. When the victory of the Tagliamento and the successes which followed it, the passage of the Noric Alps, and the invasion of Germany by this unknown road

were known, the joy of the republic at the deep humiliation of our implacable enemy was much diminished in the eyes of some persons by the fear of seeing Napoleon gain increased glory by a triumphal entry into Vienna; and then unite all the forces of the republic under his sole command. "Who," said they, "can save public liberty from the influence of such glory and so extraordinary a character? The armies of Germany were defeated last year; and this year all their success will be owing to Napoleon, who will alone have turned all Germany, and arrived at Vienna a fortnight or three weeks before them. Besides, these armies, sharing already in the glory of the army of Italy, by means of the two divisions which have been sent, will also partake of its enthusiasm for the young hero; he will master them all."

Many reasons, therefore, induced them to wish Napoleon to be prevented from entering Vienna; and not only that the three armies should remain separated, but that a sort of jealousy should be kept up amongst them. It appeared that these ideas had, at first, influenced the decision of the Directory in some degree; but as soon as the news of the brilliant success of the army of Italy, and its entrance into Germany, had reached the armies of the Rhine, by means of the public papers and the accounts of the enemy, they themselves became indignant at their inactivity, and loudly asked whether the army of Italy was to do every thing. This

impulse was strengthened by the feelings of a great number of families whose children where in the army of Italy, and the opinion of the generality of the citizens actuated by pure and noble sentiments, who were totally unable to account for the inaction of the other armies. The sensation was so violent that it became necessary to let these armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse pass the river, and march into Germany. The command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse was taken from Beurnonville, an inefficient man, without civil or military talents, and bestowed on Hoche, a young general of the greatest merit. His ardent patriotism, excessive activity, and inordinate ambition, with his constant endeavours to conciliate his officers, and create a great number of partisans, induced a hope that when placed at the head of the most numerous army, and seconded by all the influence of the government, he would easily become a rival worthy of sharing the esteem of the soldiers and citizens, and thus become a security to the republic; notwithstanding the unbounded friendship, esteem, and attachment little short of enthusiasm, which Hoche had constantly evinced towards Napoleon, on all occasions.

These reflections were openly made in the assemblies of Paris, and could not fail to reach Napoleon, who, on the summit of greatness and glory, found himself surrounded by precipices. War could henceforth only increase the perils of his

situation, by adding to his glory; he therefore immediately resolved to seek a new species of reputation in peace, calculated to endear him to the whole people, and create a new career for him. It was this alone which could now rescue the republic from the disastrous situation into which it was actually falling from the bad direction of public spirit in the interior.

RETURN FROM RADSTADT.

I. *Return from Radstadt to Paris.*—Napoleon set out from Radstadt, traversed France *incognito*, arrived in Paris without stopping, and alighted at his small house, Chaussée d' Antin, Rue Chantereine. A resolution of the municipality at Paris, gave to this street, a few days after, the name of Rue de la Victoire. The municipal body, the administration of the department, the councils vied in seeking means of testifying the national gratitude towards him. It was proposed in the council of Ancients, to give him the estate of Chambord, and a mansion in Paris; this would have been in every respect proper. The general of the army of Italy, who, for two years had fed his army, formed and maintained its *matériel*, paid many years of arrears, sent thirty or forty millions to the treasury of France, and several hundred millions in *chefs d' œuvre* of the arts, devoted to public affairs, had neglected his private fortune. He did not possess a hundred thousand crowns, in plate, jewels, money, furniture, &c. A great national reward would, then, have been perfectly consistent; but the directory, no one knows why, took alarm at this proposition, and their supporters got rid of it, by circulating the observation, that the services of the gene-

ral were of a nature not to be recompensed by money.

Immediately on his arrival, the leaders of all parties waited on him, but they were not admitted. The public was exceedingly eager to see him; the streets, the places through which it was thought likely that he would pass, were crowded, but he shewed himself no where.

The Institute appointed him a member in the class of Mechanics; he adopted their costume.

He only received in general a few men of science: such as Monge, Berthollet, Borda, Laplace, Prôny, Lagrange; scarcely any generals, except Kleber, Desaix, Lefebvre, Cafarelli-Dufalga, and a small number of deputies.

The directory determined to grant him a public audience; scaffoldings were raised in the Place du Luxemburg for this ceremony, in which he was introduced and presented by the Minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand. The substance of his discourse was, that when the Republic should possess the best organic institutions, her happiness and that of Europe would be secured. He avoided speaking of *Fructidor*, of present circumstances, and the English expedition. This simple discourse however, gave much room for conjecture, and still afforded no handle to an enemy. The Directory and the Minister for foreign affairs, each prepared an entertainment for him: he was present at both, and stayed but a short time. He had the appearance of paying little attention to these festivities. That of

the Minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand, was conspicuous for the utmost refinement of taste; all Paris was present. A celebrated female, determined to enter the lists with the conqueror of Italy, challenged him in the midst of a large circle, asking him who was, in his opinion, the greatest woman in the world, living or dead? She who has had the most children, he replied.

People flocked to the sittings of the Institute, to see the General, he never failed to be there. He was never at the Theatre, but in a private box. He would not listen to the proposition of the directors of the Opera, who wished to prepare a representation on the occasion. Marshal de Saxe, de Lowendal, Dumoutier, had been exhibited there in triumph on their return from the army. Upon his return from Egypt the 18 Brumaire, he appeared at the Tuileries; he was still more the object of eager admiration with the people.

II. *Jealousy of the directory.*—The directory manifested the utmost attention towards him; when they wished to consult him, they always sent one of the ministers to bring him: he was admitted immediately, took his seat between two of the directors, and gave his opinion upon matters as they arose.

The troops, returning to France, sang songs in honour of him, and raised him to the skies. They said, that the lawyers must be turned out, and the general made king.

The directors affected candour towards him,

even so far as to shew him the secret information which the police gave them of it; but they could ill dissemble the uneasiness they felt at so much popularity. The General of Italy perceived all the delicacy and difficulty of his situation. The government was badly managed, and great expectations were formed of him. The directory had at first, the intention of sending him again to Radstadt, to relieve them from the responsibility of the Congress: but the General refused this mission, representing that it was not fit that the same hand should direct the pen and the sword. Afterwards, the directory appointed him commander of the army of England, which served to conceal from the eyes of the enemy, the plan and the preparations for the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing this army of England, covered Normandy, Picardy and Belgium. Their new General-in-chief, inspected the whole of these districts; but he chose to travel through them incognito: these secret journeys were so much the more matter of uneasiness to the enemy, and concealed more effectually the preparations in the South. He had the satisfaction of confirming every where the sentiments inspired by his person, and his reputation. He every where found himself the object of all conversations, of all preparations. It was in this journey, on his visiting Antwerp, that he first conceived the great maritime ideas, which he subsequently put in execution there. It was

then also that he perceived at St. Quentin all the advantages of the canal which he has since caused to be formed. Lastly, it was then that he fixed his mind on the superiority which the tide gave Boulogne over Calais, for attemping an enterprise against England with mere *peniches*.

III. *The first incident that determined the directory to abandon the principles of policy laid down at Campo-Formio.*—The principles of policy which governed the Republic, had been determined at Campo-Formio. The directory were unacquainted with them. Besides, they could not subdue their passions, every circumstance swayed them. Switzerland furnished the first instance of this. France had constantly cause of complaint against the Canton of Berne, and the Swiss aristocracy. All the foreign agents who had excited troubles in France, had always had their lever at Berne, this was always the fulcrum. It became matter of consideration to take advantage of the great influence we had acquired in Europe, to destroy the preponderance of our enemies in Switzerland. The General of Italy approved highly the resentment of the directory; he thought the moment was come for securing to France the political influence of Switzerland, but he did not think it necessary on that account to subvert the country. It was necessary in order to act in conformity with the adopted policy, to attain the object with the least possible change. He proposed that our ambassador in

Switzerland should present a note, supported by two bodies of troops in Savoy, and Franche-Comté, in which he should declare that France and Italy considered it necessary to their policy and their security, as well as to the reciprocal dignity of the three nations, that the Pays de Vaud, Argau, and the Italian bailiwics should become free and independent Cantons equal to the others; that France and Italy had much reason to complain of the aristocracy of certain families of Berne, Soleure, and Friburg, but that they would forget all, if the peasants of these Cantons were reinstated in their political *rights. All these changes would have been wrought without effort and without employing arms;* but Rewbel, *led on* by the demagogues of Switzerland, caused a different system to be adopted, without respect to the manners, the religion, or the local circumstances of the Cantons. It was determined to submit the whole of Switzerland to a single constitution, like that of France. The small Cantons were irritated at losing their liberty, and all Switzerland rose at the prospect of a disorganization which violated all their interests, and inflamed all their passions. They flew to arms. It was necessary to send in our troops, and conquer the whole country. *Blood was shed:* Europe took alarm.

IV. *Second incident.*—In another quarter, that miserable court of Rome, by a train of insanity which characterised it, provoked, rather than corrected by the treaty of Tolentino, continued its

system of hatred and offence against France, in the hope of repressing those in its bosom who were the friends of France. This cabinet of feeble old men devoid of sense, excited a fermentation of opposite oppinions around them. They made a quarrel with the Cisalpine republic. They had the imprudence to put the Austrian General Provera at the head of their troops. They inflamed their own party by every expedient. A tumult took place; the young *Duphot*, a General of the highest promise who happened to be at Rome as a traveller, was murdered at the door of the French Ambassador, in trying to prevent disorder; and the Ambassador, Joseph, brother to the *General*, retired to Florence.

Napoleon being consulted, replied, by his usual adage, that it was not for a circumstance to regulate policy, but rather for policy to govern circumstances; that, however blamable that imbecile court of Rome might be, the conduct to be pursued towards it still remained a very important question. That it was necessary to chastise it, but not destroy it; that by deposing the Pope, and revolutionizing Rome, there would infallibly be war with Naples, which, above all things, should be avoided. That our Ambassadors should be ordered to return to Rome, to demand that example should be made of the guilty, to require that an extraordinary embassy should be sent to make apologies at the Luxembourg; to cause the depar-

ture of Provera, to put the most moderate of the prelates at the head of affairs, and to compel the Pope to conclude a concordat with the Cisalpine Republic, that by these united measures, Rome, being rendered tranquil, might no more be in a condition to meddle in politics. That this Concordat with the Cisalpine would moreover have the advantage of preparing before hand the minds of the French for a similar measure. But la Reveillère, surrounded by his theophilanthropists, led them to decide upon marching against the Pope. The time was come, he said, to make this idol vanish. Besides, the name of Roman Republic was sufficient to excite all the ardent imaginations of the revolution. The French General had been too cautious, when opportunity offered, and if there were now quarrels with the Pope, it was solely his fault; but perhaps he had his private views in it! In a word, his courteous ceremonies, his delicacy towards the Pope, his generous compassion for exiled priests had, at times, made a strong impression on the minds of Frenchmen.

As to the fear that the revolution of Rome would lead to a war with Naples, that was treated as an over-strained subtilty. We had ourselves a numerous party in Naples, and we could fear nothing from a state of the third rank. Berthier consequently received orders to march with an army to seize Rome, and establish the Roman republic;

this was executed. Three consuls were established at Rome as the executive power; a Senate and a Tribunate composed the legislative. Fourteen cardinals attended at the basilic of St. Peter; and sang a Te Deum in commemoration of the re-establishment of the Roman republic, which was nothing less than the abolition of the temporal authority of the Pope. But the people, intoxicated for a moment with the idea of independence, drew with them the greater part of the clergy. The hand, however, which had hitherto restrained the officers and the administrators of the army was no longer there; they abandoned themselves in Rome to the most licentious spoliations, all the furniture of the Vatican was utterly wasted, pictures and objects of curiosity were every where seized. They so alienated the country, that the country in its turn succeeded in corrupting the army: it rose against some of the generals whom it accused. This seditious movement of the soldiers was full of the most imminent danger; it was with great difficulty they were restrained. It is believed with reason that they were incited by Neapolitan, English, and Austrian agents.

V. *Third incident.* Bernadotte had been appointed ambassador to Vienna. The choice *was not good:* a general could not be agreeable to a nation so constantly beaten; a person filling a civil situation should have been sent; but the Directory had few of these at their disposal, either they were

too obscure, or they had kept them at too great a distance. However that may be, Bernadotte, at that time of too warm a disposition, committed some serious faults during his embassy. One day, no one can guess from what motive, he caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted on his house. It is thought that he was insidiously induced to it by certain agents who wished to involve Austria in difficulties. In fact, the populace, by the instigation of the same agents, were immediately in a state of insurrection; they tore down the flag and insulted Bernadotte.

The Directory, in their fury, sent for the *General of Italy* to fortify themselves by his influence on public opinion, and submitted to his perusal a message to the councils, declaring war against Austria, and a decree giving to himself the command of the army of Germany. He did not concur in opinion with the Directory. If you were desirous of war, you should have prepared for it independently of this affair of Bernadotte; you should not have engaged your troops in Switzerland, in southern Italy, on the shores of the ocean; *the project for reducing the army* to a hundred thousand men *should not have been announced;* a project not yet executed it is true, but which is known and discourages the army. These measures indicate that you had reckoned on peace. Bernadotte is greatly in the wrong: by declaring war, you are playing the game of England. It

is ignorance of the policy of the Cabinet of Vienna, to suppose that if it had desired war, it would have insulted you. It would have flattered and lulled you, while it was putting its troops in motion. You would not have known its real intentions till the first shot was fired. Rest assured that Austria will give you every satisfaction. It is not having a system of policy, *to be thus led away by all circumstances.* The force of truth calmed the government. Austria gave satisfaction; the conferences of Selze took place, but this circumstance retarded the Egyptian expedition for a fortnight.

VI. *Delay of the expedition to Egypt.*—Napoleon began to fear, that amid the storms which the ignorance of government and the nature of affairs were accumulating round us, this enterprise might prove fatal to the real interests of the nation; he communicated his thoughts to the Directory. Europe, he said, was any thing but tranquil. The Congress at Radstadt did not come to a conclusion. We were obliged to retain troops in the interior, to secure the elections and keep down the departments in the west. He proposed to countermand the expedition and wait for more favourable circumstances.

The Directory, alarmed, suspecting that *he had* an intention of aspiring to the direction of affairs, were only the more eager in hastening the expedition, particularly as they did not perceive all the

consequences of the changes they had produced in *the public system.* According to them, the events in Switzerland, far from weakening us, afforded us some excellent positions, and the Helvetic troops for auxiliaries. The affair of Rome was ended, since the pontiff was already at Florence and the Roman republic proclaimed; and that of Bernadotte could have no further consequences, as the Emperor had offered reparation. The moment, then, was more favourable than ever for attacking England, as had been arranged, in Ireland and in Egypt. He offered, at least, to leave Kleber or Desaix, who were eager to be *in the expedition.* Their great reputation and superior talents might in case of need be of essential use in France; but they refused Kleber, whom Rewbel detested, and Desaix, whose talents they did not appreciate. The republic, they replied, was not driven to these two Generals. There would be found a multitude to ensure the triumph of the country, if ever it should be in danger.

VII. *The Republic is threatened with a crisis in the interior.—The Directory are on the brink of an abyss, but are not aware of it.*—Affairs went on badly, too, in the interior. The Directory had abused their victory of Fructidor. They had committed the great mistake of not rallying round the republic all who, not having taken part with the foreign faction, had only been seduced or misled. By this they had been deprived of the assistance

and talents of a great number of individuals, who, in resentment, went over to the party opposed to the republic, notwithstanding their interests and opinions naturally inclined them to that government. They found themselves driven to employ men without principle. Hence arose discontent in public opinion, and the necessity for maintaining a great number of troops at home, to secure the elections and restrain La Vendée.

It was easy to forsee that the new elections would lead to a crisis, that the new third of legislators would be composed of violent men who would increase the source of the evils which pressed upon the nation. The Directory had no internal policy; they went on but from day to day, influenced by the individual temper of the Directors, or the vicious nature of a government composed of five persons. They foresaw nothing, and never perceived any difficulties until they were materially checked. When it was said to them: "How will you act at the ensuing elections?"—"We will provide for that by a law," replied La Reveillere. The end has shown what was the nature of the law meditated by the Directory. *When they were asked: Why do you not raise up all the friends of the republic who were only misled and deceived, in Fructidor, by the foreign party? Why not recal Carnot, Portalis, Dumolard, Barbé-Marbois, &c. &c. to form an union against the foreign*

and the violent parties? But the Directors attached little value to these observations, they believed themselves to be popular and seated on a firm and solid foundation. A party composed of Deputies possessing influence in the two Councils, patriots of Fructidor who sought a protector, generals the most powerful and the most enlightened, long pressed the General of Italy to stir and put himself at the head of the republic; he refused: he was not yet strong enough to go alone. On the art of government and what was necessary for a great nation, he had ideas so different from the men of the revolution and the Assemblies, that, not having power to act alone, *he was fearful* of compromising his character. He resolved to set out for Egypt, but with a determination to re-appear if circumstances occurred to make his presence necessary or useful.

VIII. *Ceremony of the 21st of January.*—Talleyrand, the minister of exterior relations, was the creature of the Directory. He was bishop of Autun at the time of the revolution; he was one of the three bishops who took the oath to the civil constitution of the clergy, and who consecrated the constitutional bishops. It was he who said mass at the famous federation of 1790. When deputed to the constituent assembly, he made several reports on the property of the clergy. Under the legislative body, he was sent to London, to treat with the English government. But when the revolution had

taken a more rapid and violent direction, he became one of the *suspected*, and was compelled to take refuge in America.

After the 13th of Vendemiaire, the convention erased the quondam bishop of Autun, from the list of emigrants; he then returned to France, and was much patronized by Madame de Stael's Coterie. He was discreet, pliant, and insinuating, and obtained the favour of the Directors Barras, Merlin, Rewbel, and even of la Reveillere Lepaux, to whom he paid his court, as he had formerly done at Versailles. He became minister for foreign affairs, which led him into a correspondence with the negociator of Campo-Formio. Talleyrand, from that moment, applied himself to pleasing the General, and to insinuate himself into his favour; it was he who was constantly employed by the Directory in transactions with the General of Italy. On the approach of the 21st of January, on which the government celebrated the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. it became a great subject of discussion between the Directors and the Ministry, whether Napoleon should attend the ceremony or not. It was feared, on the one side, that if he did not go, the holiday might become unpopular; on the other, that if he did go, the Directory would be forgotten and neglected, and the people would think of him only. Nevertheless, it was finally concluded that he ought to go. Talleyrand, as usual, undertook this negociation; the General excused

himself, saying, that he had personally nothing to do with this ceremony, which, on account of its nature, was agreeable but to very few people. He added that this festival was of the most impolitic description: that the event which it commemorated was a catastrophe, an absolute national calamity. That he could easily understand why they celebrated the 14th of July, a period when the nation regained its rights by victory; but that the people might have regained their rights, and even founded a republic without staining themselves with the execution *of a prince declared inviolable and exempt from responsibility by the constitution itself.* Whether that sacrifice had been useful or not, he did not pretend to decide, but he maintained that it was an unfortunate event. That national festivals are celebrated for victories gained; but the victims left *on the field of battle* are lamented. That it was perfectly regular, that he (Talleyrand) being a Minister, should appear on the occasion, but that a private individual had nothing to do with it. That this policy of celebrating the death of a man, could never be the act of a government; but only that of a faction; *as much as to say, of a club of jacobins.* That he could not conceive how the Directory, which had proscribed jacobins and anarchists, which was now in treaty with so many princes, could be insensible to the fact that such a ceremony not only made the republic many more enemies than friends, kept people at a distance, instead

of inviting them, irritated, instead of conciliating, and shook the social edifice, instead of strengthening it, but was wholly unworthy of the government of a great nation. Talleyrand employed all his rhetoric: he endeavoured to prove that it was just, because it was politic; and it was politic, he said, for all countries and all republics had constantly commemorated, as a triumph, the fall of absolute power, and the murder of tyrants. Thus Athens had always celebrated the death of Pisistratus; and Rome the fall of the Decemvirs. He added, that it was, moreover, a law of the nation, and that, therefore, every one owed submission and obedience to it; finally, he concluded, that the General's influence on public opinion was such, that he ought to make his appearance, as his absence might be injurious to the public weal. After several parleys, a middle course was adopted: the Institute attended this solemnity; it was agreed, that *as a member of the Institute*, Napoleon should *follow his class*, which had to fulfil a duty as a public body. This affair thus arranged by Talleyrand, gave great satisfaction to the Directory.

Nevertheless, when the Institute entered St. Sulpice, where this ceremony was celebrated, some one who recognized Napoleon having pointed him out, all eyes were thenceforth fixed on him exclusively. What the Directors themselves had apprehended took place; they found themselves completely eclipsed. When the festival was over, the

Directory was allowed to go out quite alone. The multitude remained to attend him who had endeavoured to pass unnoticed amongst the members of the Institute, and made the sky resound with *Long live the General of the army of Italy!* so that this event only increased the displeasure of those at the head of affairs.

Another event gave Talleyrand an opportunity of making himself agreeable to the Directory. In a coffee-room, or some public room, at Garchi's, two young men, under pretence of political raillery, suggested by the manner in which they wore their hair, were insulted, attacked, and assassinated. This snare had been laid by order of the Minister of Police, Sottin, and managed by his agents. Now the *General of Italy* was already so circumstanced, that although living privately in his own domicile, he was nevertheless compelled, on account of his personal safety, to keep a vigilant eye on matters of this kind. He loudly expressed his indignation, and Talleyrand was sent to pacify him. Talleyrand said, that such events were common in critical times, that the circumstances of revolutions were an exception to ordinary rules; that it had become necessary, here, to awe fashionable society, and to repress the audacity of the saloons; that there were some faults which tribunals could neither reach nor punish; that the *lanterne* of the Constituent Assembly could not certainly be approved of, but that without it the revolution could not have pro-

ceeded; that there are evils which must be endured because they prevent greater evils. The General answered that such language might, at best, have been tolerable before Fructidor, when the hostile parties were face to face, and the Directory had been placed under the necessity of defending itself, rather than governing; that at that time such an act might, perhaps, have been excused by the necessity of the case; but now that the Government was invested with the whole power, and that the law met with no opposition from any quarter; now that the citizens were all submissive, at least, if not well affected, this action became an atrocious crime, an absolute outrage on civilization; that wherever the words law and liberty were pronounced, all the citizens were reciprocally sureties for each other; but that by this cut-throat affair every one would be struck with terror, would ask where this was to end, and think himself under the rule of the Janissaries. These reasons were too plausible to need explanation to a man of M. de Talleyrand's intelligence and character; but he had a commission; he was endeavouring to apologize for a government whose favour and confidence he was ambitious to preserve.

Voltaire.—Jean Jarques Rousseau.—Characteristic difference between the English and the French nations.—M. de Chateaubriand.—His speech at the Institute.—Affected anger of the Emperor on several occasions.—His principles on that head.

Saturday, 1st of June.—The Emperor sent for me. He had just come out of his bath, where he had remained three hours, and he asked me to guess what book he had been engaged in reading whilst in the water; it was Rousseau's new Eloise. He had expressed himself quite charmed with this work when he first perused it at the Briars; but in analysing it again, he now criticised it with unsparing severity. The rock of *la Meillerie* being mentioned, he said, he thought it had been destroyed when he caused a road of communication to be opened through the Simplon; but I assured him that enough remained to preserve a perfect recollection of it: it projects over the road, and, like Leucate of old, offers a fine leap to despairing lovers.

To the noble character given by Rousseau to Lord Edward in his new Eloise, and to the impression produced by some of Voltaire's plays, the Emperor ascribed, in a great measure, the high estimate which had been formed in France of the English character. The facility with which public opinion was governed in those days, excited

his surprise; Voltaire and Rousseau who had *then* directed it as they pleased, would not, he thought, be able to do so at the present time; and Voltaire, in particular, had only exercised so powerful an influence over his contemporaries, and been considered the great man of his age, because all around him were pigmies.

The Emperor then proceeded to compare the character of the English and French nations. "The higher classes among the English," said he, "are proud; with us unfortunately they are only "vain; in that consists the great characteristic "distinction between the two nations. The mass "of the people in France certainly possess a "greater share of national feeling than any other "now existing in Europe; they have profited by "the experience of their twenty-five years revolu-"tion; but unfortunately, that class which the "revolution has advanced have not been found "equal to the station of life to which they have "been elevated; they have shown themselves cor-"rupt and unstable; in the last struggles they "have not been distinguished either by talents, "firmness, or virtue; in short, they have degraded "the honour of the nation."

A speech of M. de Chateaubriand has been read to the Emperor, on the propriety of allowing the clergy to inherit. The Emperor observed, that it was rather an Academical oration than the opinion of a legislator—it had wit, but showed little judg-

ment, and contained no views whatever. "Allow "the clergy to inherit," said he, "and nobody will "die without being obliged to purchase abso- "lution; for, whatever our opinions may be, we "none of us know where we go on leaving this "world. Then must we remember our last and "final account, and no one can pronounce what his "feelings will be at his last hour, nor answer for "the strength of his mind at that awful moment. "Who can affirm that I shall not die in the arms "of a confessor? and that he will not make me "acknowledge myself guilty of the evil I shall not "have done, and implore forgiveness for it?"—In the present instance however, as somebody has observed, M. de Chateaubriand may be said to uphold an opinion rather than express a sentiment of his own; and there are strong grounds for believing that in religion, as well as in politics, he has often been known to set forth doctrines which had failed to carry conviction to his own mind.

On the article of religion, for instance, it is well known that before he wrote his *Beauties of Christianity*, he had published in London another work, of a tendency decidedly anti-religious.* The bookseller to whom he entrusted the sale of this work, was a man of the name of Dulau, formerly a benedictine monk of Soreze, who had sought refuge in London at the time of the revolution. Being a man

* Essai sur les revolutions anciennes & modernes.

of intelligent mind and sound judgment, he took the liberty of giving M. De Chateaubriand some good advice. He represented to him that both the place and the time were ill chosen for indulging in declamations against religion; that the moment had gone by when they were favourably received; that they had become common place and in bad taste; and that the surest way to engage the attention of the public, would be to take up the other side of the question, and advocate, on the contrary, the cause of religion. M. De Chateaubriand listened to this advice, and wrote his *Beauties of Christianity*; and the event proved that Dulau had not been mistaken in his choice of the moment, for it is very doubtful, if the work were to appear now, whether it would obtain the brilliant success it then met with, notwithstanding the great merit which it undoubtedly possesses.

The appointment of the author of *The Beauties of Christianity* to the embassy of Rome, was considered at the time, as a very delicate attention on the part of the first consul to M. De Chateaubriand, who, in his turn, hailed it as a first triumph, and the presage of still greater triumphs which awaited him in the capital of the Christian world, amongst the rulers of the church. But he was soon doomed to find himself greatly mistaken, for Rome found herself highly incensed at seeing religion made the subject of novels, and the Divines condemned without hesitation *The Beauties*

of Christianity, which they pronounced to abound in heresies.

However, M. de Chateaubriand, thoroughly convinced of his own merit, consoled himself by affecting to laugh with pity at such puerilities; and happening to be about this time godfather to a little girl, he gave her the name of *Atala;* by this name, however, the priest positively refused to christen her, whilst M. de Chateaubriand, in his turn, insisted with all the obstinacy of an author and all the pride of an ambassador. The noise of this affair got abroad, and M. de Chateaubriand laid a complaint before the cardinal then in power; who decided in favour of the priest; and moreover, felt highly offended on the occasion; for M. de Chateaubriand fancying that his services in the cause of religion had given him the right to assume the tone of one initiated in the secrets of the church, concluded his argument with the Cardinal by saying: "That it was very ridiculous that such "obstacles should be thrown in *his* way; for," added he, "*between ourselves*, your Eminence "must know that between Atala and all other "Saints, the difference is not great."

The Emperor was highly entertained by these anecdotes, which he said, were quite new to him, and the person who related them observed, that although he could not vouch for their authenticity, yet he had no doubt of it in his own mind, having heard them from one of the

persons who succeeded M. de Chateaubriand at the court of Rome.

In Politics.—M. de Chateaubriand has been alternately seen, it was added, amongst the adherents and opponents of Napoleon; and the Emperor charges him, when in his service, with malevolence and disloyalty, particularly at the time of his embassy to the old king of Sardinia at Rome.*

During the disastrous event of 1814, he made himself conspicuous by writing pamphlets so outrageously violent and virulent, and disgraced by such bare-faced calumnies, that they excited feelings of disgust. He no doubt must regret having been the author of them, and would not now degrade his talents by such writings.

Some years before our disasters, the Emperor reading one day some fragments of this author's works, expressed his surprise that he was not a member of the Institute. These words acted as a powerful recommendation in favour of M. de Chateaubriand, who hastened to put himself in the list as a candidate, and was almost unanimously chosen.

According to one of the invariable rules of the Institute, the candidate newly chosen was to make a speech in praise of the member to whom he was then succeeding; but M. de Chateaubriand, persuaded that for a man who had once occupied the

* See letters from the Cape.

attention of the public, the surest way to acquire celebrity was to leave the beaten track, and strike through a new path to fame, reversed this custom by devoting part of his speech to stigmatize the political principles of M. Chenier his predecessor, and proscribe him as a regicide. His speech was a complete political argument, discussing the restoration of monarchy and the judgment and death of Louis XVI.; the whole Institute was in an uproar, some of the members refusing to listen to a speech which appeared to them indecorous, and others on the contrary insisting upon its being read. From the Institute the dispute spread rapidly through the different circles of Paris, which were full of the debate, and divided in opinion on the subject, and at last reached the ears of the Emperor, to whom every thing was carried, and who wished to be informed of every thing. He ordered the speech to be shown to him, pronounced it to be extravagant in the extreme, and instantly forbade its publication. It so happened that one of the members of the Institute who had taken a lively part in the discussion, and voted for the reading of the speech, was also one of the great officers of the Emperor's household; and the Emperor took advantage of this circumstance to manifest his opinion, by addressing him in the following manner at one of his *couchers*:—"How long is it, sir," said he, with the utmost severity, "since the Institute has pre-
"sumed to assume the character of a political as-

" sembly? the province of the Institute is to pro-
" duce poetry and to censure faults of language;
" let it beware how it forsakes the domain of lite-
" rature, or I shall take measures to bring it
" back within its limits. And is it possible that
" *you*, sir, have sanctioned such an intempererate
" harangue by your approbation? If M. de Cha-
" teaubriand is insane, or disposed to malevolence,
" a madhouse may cure him, or a punishment cor-
" rect him; yet it may be that the opinions he has
" pronounced are conscientiously his own, and he
" is not obliged to surrender them to my policy,
" which is unknown to him; but with you the case
" is totally different—*you* are constantly near my
" person, you are acquainted with all my acts, you
" know my will; there *may* be an excuse in M. de
" Chateaubriand's favour, there *can* be none in
" yours. Sir, I hold you guilty, I consider your
" conduct as criminal: it tends to bring us back
" to the days of disorder and confusion, anarchy
" and bloodshed. Are we then banditti? and am
" I but an usurper? Sir, I did not ascend the throne
" by hurling another from it; I found the crown,
" it had fallen; I snatched it up, and the nation
" placed it on my head: respect the nation's act.
" To submit facts that have so recently occurred
" to public discussion in the present circumstances,
" is to court fresh convulsions, and become an
" enemy to the public tranquillity. The restora-
" tion of monarchy is veiled in mystery, and must

" remain so; wherefore then, I pray, this new " proposed proscription of conventionals and re- " gicides? Why are subjects of so delicate a na- " ture again brought to light? To God alone it " must belong to pronounce upon what is no " longer within the reach of the judgment of men! " Are you to be more scrupulous than the Em- " press? her interests are as dear as yours can be " in this question, and much more direct, yet she " has asked no questions, she has made no en- " quiries; take example from her moderation.

" Have I then lost the fruit of all my care? have " all my efforts been of so little avail, that as soon " as my presence no longer restrains you, you are " quite ready to bathe once more in each others " blood?" And, in speaking thus, he paced the room with rapid strides, and striking his forehead with his hand, exclaimed: " Alas! poor France, " long yet must thou need the guardian's care.

" I have done all in my power," continued he, " to quell all your dissensions; to unite all parties " has been the constant object of my solicitude. " I have made all meet under the same roof, sit at " the same board, and drink of the same cup. I " have a right to expect that you will second my " endeavours.

" Since I have taken the reins of government, " have I ever inquired into the lives, actions, opi- " nions, or writings of any one.—Imitate my " forbearance.

" I have never had but one aim, never asked but " this one question; will you sincerely assist me " in promoting the true interest of France? and " all those who have answered affirmatively have " been placed by me in a straight road, cased in " rock, and without issue on either side, through " which I have urged them on to the other ex- " tremity, where my finger pointed to the honour, " the glory, and the splendour of France."

This reprimand was so severe, that the person to whom it was addressed, a man of honour, and delicate feelings, determined upon asking an audience the next day, in order to tender his resignation. He was admitted to the presence of the Emperor, who immediately said to him, " My dear sir, " you are come on account of the conversation of " yesterday; you felt hurt on the occasion, and I " have felt no less so; but it was a piece of advice " which I thought it right to give to more than one " person; if it has the desired effect of producing " some public good, we must not either of us re- " gret the circumstance; think no more about it." And he spoke of something else.

Thus would the Emperor often censure whole bodies in the person of one single individual; and in order to strike with greater awe, he did it in a most solemn and imposing manner. But the anger which he sometimes shewed in public, and of which so much has been said, was only feigned, and put on for the moment. The Emperor affirmed,

that by such means he had often deterred many from the commission of a fault, and spared himself the necessity of punishing.

One day, at one of his grand audiences, he attacked a Colonel with the utmost vehemence, and quite in a tone of anger, upon some slight disorders of which his regiment had been guilty towards the inhabitants of the countries they had passed through, in returning to France. During the reprimand, the Colonel, thinking the punishment out of all proportion to the fault of which he was accused, repeatedly endeavoured to excuse himself; but the Emperor without interrupting his speech, said to him in an under tone, "Very well, but hold "your tongue; I believe you; but say nothing:" and when he afterwards saw him in private, he said to him: "When I thus addressed you, I was chas- "tising in your person, certain Generals whom I saw "near you, and who, had I spoken to them direct, "would have been found deserving of the lowest "degradation, and perhaps of something worse."

But it sometimes happened also, that the Emperor was publicly appealed to: I have witnessed several instances of this kind.

One day at St. Cloud, at the grand audience which was held on each Sunday, a Sub-Prefect, or some other public officer of Piedmont, who was standing by my side, addressed the Emperor in a loud tone of voice, and with the utmost emotion, calling for justice, asserting that he had been falsely accused,

and unjustly condemned and dismissed from the service. "Apply to my ministers," answered the Emperor. "No sire, I wish to be judged by you;" "That is impossible, my time is wholly absorbed "with the general interests of the Empire, and my "ministers are appointed to take into consideration "the particular cases of individuals." "But they will "condemn me." "For what reason?" "Because "every body is against me." "Why?" "Because I "love you—to love you, sire, is a sufficient motive "to inspire every one with hatred." All the bystanders were disconcerted at this answer, and red with confusion; but the Emperor replied with the utmost calmness. "This is rather a strange asser-"tion, sir, but I am willing to hope that you are "mistaken," and he passed on to the next person. On another occasion also, on the parade, a young officer stepped out of the ranks, in extreme agitation, to complain that he had been ill-used, slighted, and passed over, and that he had been five years a Lieutenant, without being able to obtain promotion. "Calm yourself," said the Emperor, "I was "*seven* years a Lieutenant, and yet you see that a "man may push himself forward for all that." Every body laughed, and the young officer, suddenly cooled by those few words, returned to his place. Nothing indeed was more common, than to see private individuals attack the Emperor, and hold out against him, and I have often seen him thus sharply and warmly disputed with, and unable to silence his opponent, give up the contest by ad-

dressing another person, or by turning the conversation to another subject.

It may be observed as a general principle, that however violent the Emperor's actions might appear, they were always the result of calculation. "When one of my ministers," said he, "or some "other great personage had been guilty of a fault "of so grave a nature that it became absolutely "necessary for me to be very angry, I always "took care in that case to have a third person "present to witness the scene that was to ensue; "for it was a general maxim with me, that when "I resolved to strike a blow, it must be felt by "many at the same time; the immediate object of "my resentment did not feel more incensed against "me on that account, and the by-stander, whose "embarassed appearance was highly ludicrous, did "not fail to run and circulate, most discreetly, as "far as he could, all that he had seen and heard. A "salutary terror ran thus from vein to vein through "the body social: a new impulse was given to "the march of affairs; I had less to punish, and "a great deal of public good was obtained without inflicting much private hardship."

Reflections on the Governor.—Expenses of the Emperor's household at the Tuileries.—Of a good system of finance.—M. M. Mollien and Labouillerie.

Sunday 2d—The Emperor rode out on horseback at about eight o'clock; he had long since ab-

stained from enjoying that exercise. In returning through the valley of the Company's garden, he went into the house of one of the Company's Adjutants, whose wife is a Catholic, he remained there a few minutes only, and was in high spirits. We next went to the house of Madame Bertrand, to whom the Emperor paid a long visit. He alluded, in the strongest terms, and with infinite humour, to the behaviour of the Governor towards us; to his paltry measures, his total want of consideration, the absurd manner in which he conducted the affairs of the government of the island, and his total ignorance of the business and manners of life. "We had certainly some reason to complain of "the Admiral," said the Emperor; "but *he* at "least was an Englishman, and this man is nothing "but a *Sbire* of Italy. We have not the same man- "ners," added he, "we cannot understand each "other; our feelings do not speak the same lan- "guage. He probably cannot conceive, for in- "stance, that heaps of diamonds would be insuffi- "cient to atone for the affront he has offered in "causing one of my domestics to be arrested al- "most in my presence. Since that day all my "household are in consternation."

On returning from our ride we breakfasted in the garden. In the evening, whilst we were taking an airing in the *Caléche*, and going over what we called the *double tour*, we beguiled away the time in making an estimate of the expenses of a

man possessing an income of 150,000 livres in Paris. The Emperor said that a sixth of that sum should go for the stable, a fourth for the table, &c. I have already said that he was fond of making such calculations, which he always had the art of placing in a new and unexpected light.

The conversation led us on to some details worthy of remark on the civil list and the expenses of the Emperor's household. The following are amongst those I have remembered:

One million was allowed for the table, and yet the expense of the Emperor's own dinner did not exceed one hundred francs a day. It had never been found possible to manage to give him his dinner hot, for when once engaged in his closet, it was impossible to know when he would leave it. Therefore, when the hour of dinner arrived, a fowl was put on the spit for him every half hour; and it has sometimes happened that several dozen have been roasted before that which has finally been set before him.

The conversation now turned upon the advantages of a good administration of finances. The Emperor spoke highly of the talents of M. M. de Mollien and Labouillerie, in that branch. M. de Mollien, in particular, had put the treasury on the footing of a simple banking-house; and the Emperor had continually under his eyes, in a small book for that purpose, a complete statement of

the revenue, the receipt, expenditure, arrears, resources, &c. &c.

The Emperor had in his cellars at the Tuileries, added he, as much as 400 millions in gold, which were entirely his own property; so much so indeed that no other account of it existed but in a small book in the hands of his private Treasurer. All this treasure disappeared by degrees, and was applied to the expenses of the Empire, particularly at the time of our disasters. How could I think, said he, of keeping any thing for myself, I had identified myself with the nation. He further added that *he* had sent 2000 millions in specie into France, without taking into account what private individuals might have brought on their own account.

The Emperor said, he had been much hurt at the conduct of M. de Labouillerie, who being at Orleans in 1814, in charge of several millions belonging to him, (Napoleon), his own private property, had taken them to the Count d'Artois in Paris instead of carrying them to Fontainbleau, as he was in duty and in conscience bound to do. "And yet Labouillerie was not a bad man," said the Emperor, "I had both loved him and es-
"teemed him. On my return in 1815 he ear-
"nestly entreated me to see him and hear what
"he had to say in his own defence; he no doubt
"would have proved that his fault arose from
"his ignorance, and not from his heart. He

" knew me; he was aware that if he could ap-
" proach me, the affair would be settled with a
" few angry expressions on my part; but I also
" knew my own weakness, I was resolved not to
" take him into my service again, and therefore
" refused to admit him. It was the only way in
" which I could hope at that moment to hold out
" against him and several others. Esteve the pre-
" decessor of Labouillerie would not have acted
" in that manner; he was entirely devoted to my
" person; he would have brought my treasure
" to Fontainbleau at all hazards; or if he had
" failed in the endeavour, he would have thrown
" it into a river, or distributed it in various places,
" rather than give it up."

On Women, &c.—Polygamy.

Monday, 3d.—The Emperor after having been three hours in his bath, went out at about five o'clock to take a walk in the garden. He was taciturn and dejected, and wore the appearance of suffering. We afterwards drove out in the *Caléche*, and by degrees he became more cheerful and talkative.

On our return he continued to walk for some time; and in order to engage in a playful warfare with one of the ladies present, he affected to declaim against women. " We men of the west," said he, winking sideways to us at the same time,

to let us know that he was jesting, "know nothing "at all about the matter, we have acted most unwisely in treating women too well; we have imprudently allowed them to rank almost as our "equals. In the East they have more sense and "judgment; *there* women are pronounced to be "the actual property of man; and so indeed they "are, nature has made them our slaves, and it is "only by presuming upon our folly that they can "aspire to govern us, and by abusing the advantages which they possess, that they succeed in "fascinating us and establishing their dominion "over us. For one woman that inspires us with "proper sentiments, there are a hundred who lead "us into errors." He then went on to express his approbation of the maxims of the oriental nations, highly commended the practice of polygamy, which he considered to be that pointed out by nature, and displayed considerable ingenuity and fertility of invention in the choice and number of arguments which he adduced in support of his opinion. "Woman," said he, "is given to man "to bear children to him; but one woman cannot "suffice to one man for that purpose, for a woman "cannot fulfil the duties of a wife during the period "of her gestation, whilst she suckles her child, or "when she is ill: and she ceases altogether to be "a wife when she is no longer able to bear children. To man, on the contrary, nature has op-

" posed no such obstacles at any period of his " existence; a man should therefore have several " wives.

" After all," contined he, smiling significantly, " what have you to complain of, ladies? have we " not acknowledged that you possess a soul? " though certain philosophers, you know, have en- " tertained doubts on this point. You aim at equa- " lity, but *that* is madness: woman is our pro- " perty, we are not hers; for it is she that gives us " children, and not we to her: she is therefore the " property of man in the same manner as the fruit- " tree is the property of the gardener. If the hus- " band be unfaithful to his wife, and he confess " his fault and repent of it, there is an end of the " matter; no trace of it is left, the wife is angry, " forgives, or becomes reconciled; and not unfre- " quently is a gainer on the occasion. But the " case is widely different when the wife is unmind- " ful of the marriage vow; it is of no avail for her " to repent, the consequences of her guilt are in- " calculable, the mischief irreparable, she must " never, she can never confess it. You will there- " fore agree with me, Ladies, that it can only be an " error of judgment, the want of education, or the " preponderance of vulgar notions, that can prompt " a wife to believe herself the equal, in every re- " spect, of her husband. There is, however, no- " thing disparaging in the inequality; each sex

" has its attributes and its duties; your attributes, " Ladies, are beauty, grace, fascination; your " duties submission and dependence," &c. &c.

After dinner, the Emperor desired my son to bring him the Memoirs of the Chevalier de Grammont, and a volume of Voltaire's plays. Having, as he said, imposed on himself the task of remaining up till eleven o'clock, the Emperor read for some time the Memoirs, observing that a very little could be rendered amusing when seasoned with genuine wit. He afterwards turned over Mahomet, Semiramis, and other plays of Voltaire, pointing out their faults and blemishes, and concluding, as he generally did, that Voltaire had no knowledge either of affairs, men, or the real passions of human nature.

The Emperor resumes the dictation of his memoirs, &c.

Tuesday 4th—The Emperor sent for me at about four o'clock to take a ride in the *Caléche*. He told me he had at last been dictating again, and that what had been done would not be found devoid of interest. He added, that he had been during the whole morning very much out of humour; that he had at first attempted to go out at about one o'clock, but that he had found himself compelled to return into the house, pursued by disgust and *ennui*; and that not knowing what to do with himself, he had thought of resuming his dictations.

The Emperor had long since ceased to apply himself regularly to this occupation. Several months had already elapsed since my campaigns of Italy were finished; the campaign of Egypt which he had dictated to General Bertrand, was also completed; and General Gourgard had been very ill. All these circumstances had concurred to cause interruptions, which had engendered disgust; the Emperor had not proceeded further, and could not summon courage to begin again.

I took advantage of what he had just said, to represent to him, that to dictate, was, for him, the surest, the only remedy against *ennui*, the only way in which he could beguile the tedious hours; and for us, the means of obtaining the inestimable advantage of being put in possession of treasures, in the existence of which, the honour and glory of France were equally interested. I urged, that it was of paramount importance that he should continue to write his own history. "Each of us," said I, "would willingly give his life to obtain it; it was due to his memory, to his family, to us. Where would his son find the events of his father's life faithfully recorded? What pen could be found equal to the task of retracing them in a manner worthy of the subject? and yet, without such invaluable documents, how many events would be buried with Napoleon, and remain for ever unknown! We who surrounded him formerly, what did we *then* know? how much had we not learnt

here, &c. &c. The Emperor replied that he would continue his Memoirs, and consulted me as to the plan to be followed in digesting them; should they appear as a history? or as annals? He discussed the point for a long time, but without coming to any conclusion.

At dinner he said, "I have to-day been severely "reprimanded on account of my idleness; I am "therefore going to take to my task again, and "embrace several periods at the same time: each "of you shall have his share. Did not Herodotus," said he, looking at me, "give to his books the "names of the muses? I intend that each of "mine shall bear the name of one of you. Even "little Emmanuel shall give his to one of them. "I will begin the history of the Consulate with "Montholon, Gourgaud shall record the events of "some other period, or detached battles; and little "Emmanuel shall prepare the documents and "materials necessary to commemorate the period "of the coronation."

Military Schools.—Plan of Education prescribed by the Emperor.—His intentions in favour of Veterans.—Changes introduced in the Manners of the Capital.

Wednesday 5th. — The Emperor went out at about four o'clock, he had been three hours in his bath, and did not feel well. Yet the weather was delightful; it was like a fine afternoon of Europe. We walked until we came up to the *Calèche,*

and then took our usual drive. Our conversation turned upon the military school of Paris before the Revolution, and we contrasted the footing of luxury upon which we were placed at that school, with the severe discipline introduced by the Emperor in these establishments under his reign.

At the military school of Paris we were treated in every respect like officers of fortune, boarded and waited upon in a style of great magnificence, greater indeed than the circumstances of most of our families warranted, and greater than most of us could hope to be able to keep up in after life. The Emperor had been anxious, he said, to avoid falling into this error; he had wished, above all, that his young officers, who were one day to command soldiers, should begin by being soldiers themselves, and learn by experience all the technical details of the service; a system of education, he added, which must ever prove an immense advantage to an officer in the course of his future career, by enabling him to watch over and enforce the observance of those details in others who are placed under his orders. It was according to this principle, that at St. Germain the young students were obliged to groom their own horses, were taught to shoe them, &c. &c. The same spirit presided over the regulations at St. Cyr; there several pupils were made to lodge together in one large apartment, a common mess was provided for all indiscriminately, &c. &c.; yet the attention paid

to these particulars was not suffered to interfere with the care bestowed upon the instruction necessary to qualify them for their future career; in short, they did not leave St. Cyr before they had really earned the rank of officer, and were found capable of leading and commanding soldiers. And it must be admitted, the Emperor observed, that if the young men who passed from that institution at its origin, into different corps of the army, were at first viewed with jealousy, ample justice was soon rendered to their discipline and to their abilities.

The establishments of Ecouen, St. Denis and others, which the benevolent solicitude of Napoleon had created for the daughters of members of the legion of honour, were conducted upon principles of a similar nature. Some of the rules made by the Emperor himself, ordered that every article for the use of the institution should be made in the house and by the hands of the pupils themselves, and forbade every species of luxury, extravagance in dress, and plays; the object being, he said, to form good house-wives and honest women.

Public opinion had given to Napoleon, at the time of his elevation, the reputation of a man of a harsh disposition and void of sensibility; yet it is certain that no sovereign ever acted more from the impulse of genuine feelings than he did; but from a peculiar turn of mind, he concealed all

emotions of the heart with as much care as others take to display them.

He had adopted all the children of the soldiers and officers killed at Austerlitz, and with him such an act would not have been one of mere form; he would have provided for them all.

I heard the following anecdote from a young man who has related it to me since my return to Europe, with tears of gratitude in his eyes: He had been fortunate enough when yet very young to attract the Emperor's notice by some signal proof of his devotedness; Napoleon asked him what profession he would wish to embrace; and without waiting for his answer, pointed out one himself: the young man observed that his father's fortune was not sufficient to allow him to follow it; "what has that to do with it," replied the Emperor hastily; "Am *I* not also your father?" Those persons who have known Napoleon in his private life, who have lived near his person, can quote a thousand traits of the same kind.

He had done much for the army and the veterans, and proposed to do much more: every day some new thought tending to that object occupied his mind. The plan of a decree was one day laid before us in the Council of State, proposing that in future all vacant situations in the customs, the collection of the revenue and the excise, should be given to wounded soldiers, or to veterans capable

of filling them, from the private up to the highest ranks in the army. This plan being coldly received, the Emperor addressed one of those who opposed it in his usual manner, urging him to discuss the question freely, and state his opinion without reserve. "Sire," answered M. Malouet, "my "objection is, that I fear the other classes of the "nation will feel themselves aggrieved in seeing "the army preferred to them." "Sir," replied the Emperor warmly, "you make a distinction which "does not exist; the army no longer forms a se- "parate class of the nation. In the situation in "which we are now placed, no member of the "state is exempt from being a soldier; to follow a "military career is no longer a matter of choice, "it is one of necessity. The greatest number "of those who are engaged in that career have "been compelled to abandon their own profession "against their will, it is therefore but justice that "they should receive some kind of compensation "for it."—"But," observes again the member who opposed the plan, "will it not be inferred that "your majesty intends that in future almost all "vacant situations shall be given to soldiers?"—"And such is indeed my intention," said the Emperor; "Sir, the only question is, whether I "have the right to do so, and whether I thereby "commit an act of injustice? Now the constitution "gives me the nomination to all places, and I "think it a principle of strict equity, that those

" who have suffered most have the greatest claims " to be indemnified." Then raising his voice, he added, " Gentlemen, war is not a profession of " ease and comfort; quietly seated on your benches " here you know it only by reading our bulletins, " or by hearing of our triumphs—you know no- " thing of our nightly watches, our forced marches, " the sufferings and privations of every kind to " which we are exposed: but I do know them, be- " cause I witness them, and sometimes share in " them."

This plan however, like many others, was at last abandoned, after having been several times under discussion, and variously modified; and the beneficent intentions of the Emperor were, I believe, not even known to the public, though he had appeared to take a lively interest in the passing of this decree, and to defend it in its most minute details.

Amongst the objections started against this plan at the commencement of the discussion, and the arguments to which they gave rise, were the following: — " Would your majesty, for instance, " give such situations to a soldier who could not " read?"—" Why not?"—" But how would he be " able to discharge his duties, how could he keep " his accounts?"—" Sir, he would apply to his " neighbour, he would send for his relations, and " the benefit intended for one would be felt by " many. Besides, I do not hold your objection to

" be valid, we have only to stipulate that the man " appointed shall be qualified to fill the situa- " tion." &c.

Towards evening the Emperor sent for me to his own room. I found him alone near a small fire, but almost in the dark, the lights being placed in the next apartment. This obscurity, he said, was in harmony with his melancholy. He was silent and dejected.

After dinner the Emperor took up the Memoirs of the Chevalier de Grammont, but found himself unable to continue to read them.

A discussion then arose upon the manner in which time was spent in Paris. The habits of society in former times and the present were passed in review. The Emperor said he had thought much and often upon the means of introducing variety into the pleasures of society. He had had assemblies at court, plays, journies to Fontainbleau, but they had only produced the effect, he said, of inconveniencing the people at court without influencing the circles of the metropolis. There was not yet a sufficient degree of cohesion in those heterogeneous parts to allow them to react upon each other with due effect; but this, he affirmed, would have been brought about in the course of time. It was observed to him that he had much contributed to shorten the evenings at Paris, as all persons employed by government having a great deal to do, and being obliged to rise

very early, were under the necessity of retiring early.

"It caused, however, great surprise in Paris," said the Emperor, "produced quite a revolution "in manners, and almost stirred up a sedition in "the circles of the metropolis, when the First "Consul required that boots should be abandoned "for stockings, and that some little care should be "bestowed upon dress to appear in company."

The Emperor dwelt with great pleasure upon the causes of the good-breeding and amiable manners which distinguished society in our younger days. He defined particularly those points which contributed to render intimacy agreeable, such as a slight tinge of flattery on both sides, or, at least, an opposition seasoned with delicacy and politeness, &c.

Repugnance to Physic.—Gil Blas.—General Bizanet.—Heroic deeds of French valour.—Reflections, &c.

Thursday, 6th.—I did not see the Emperor before six o'clock; being indisposed he had remained in his room, and had not eaten any thing the whole day. He said he found himself unwell, and was amusing himself by looking over some prints of London which the Doctor had lent him. The Doctor had had the honour of seeing the Emperor in the course of the day, and had made him laugh. "Hearing that I was not well," said Napoleon, "he claimed me as his prey, by immediately

"advising me to take some medicine; medi-
"cine to me, who, to the best of my recollec-
"tion, never took any in the whole course of
"my life."

It was now past seven; the Emperor said that a man who felt hungry was not very ill. He called for something to eat, and a chicken was brought to him, which he found excellent. This revived his spirits a little, he became more talkative, and passed in review several French novels. He had been employed the greatest part of the day in reading Gil Blas, which he thought full of wit; but the hero and all his companions, he said, had deserved to be sent to the gallies. He then turned over a chronological register, and stopped at the brilliant affair of Bergen-op-zoom, commanded by General Bizanet.

"How many gallant actions," said the Emperor,
"have been either forgotten in the confusion of
"our disasters, or overlooked in the number of
"our exploits. The affair of Bergen-op-zoom is
"one of these. A competent garrison for that
"town would have been probably from eight to
"ten thousand men, but it did not then contain
"more than two thousand seven hundred. An
"English General, favoured by the darkness of
"the night, and by the intelligence which he kept
"up with the inhabitants, had succeeded in pene-
"trating into it, at the head of four thousand
"eight hundred chosen men. They are in the

" town, the inhabitants are on their side, but no-
" thing can triumph over French valour! a despe-
" rate engagement takes place in the streets, and
" nearly the whole of the English troops are killed
" or remain prisoners. That is undoubtedly, ex-
" claimed the Emperor, a gallant action! General
" Bizanet is a gallant officer!"

It is certain, as Napoleon had observed, that in the last moments of the empire, numberless heroic deeds and historical traits have been overlooked in the confusion of our disasters, or have disappeared in the abyss of our misfortunes. Such are the extraordinary and singular defence of Huningen, by the intrepid Barbanegre. The brilliant expedition of the brave Excelmans in Versailles, which might have been followed by the most important results, if it had been supported as it had been decided that it should be; and several others.

Nevertheless, these noble deeds at that critical period, have shed a lustre on the ranks of the army, rather than on its principal leaders. It would have been well, if at the moment of that terrible catastrophe, during that fatal crisis, some of our first generals had again exhibited some of those noble acts of courage, those signal efforts which marked our first triumphs, and which, under Napoleon's reign had become almost a national habit; whatever the result might have been, the attempt would have been a source of consolation to our glory, and France would contemplate with

satisfaction the heroic convulsions of her agony. We ought not to have ended by common actions.

At that calamitous period we had more troops abroad than at home: Dresden contained an army: a second army was shut up in Hamburg; a third in Dantzick; and a fourth might have been easily collected by bringing together the immense number of our soldiers which formed several other intermediate garrisons. All the efforts of our enemies tended only to keep these brave troops separated from France, and to cut off their return. Oh! that some one of their leaders had been inspired with the thought to take advantage of those circumstances to liberate the sacred soil, by attacking boldly that of the enemy, and obliging him thus to retrace his steps; would it have been impossible to unite those different corps?

Would not the union of the garrisons of Dresden, Torgau, Magdeburg, Hamburg, have produced a formidable army in the rear of the enemy, capable of breaking through his line, or of placing him in a most critical situation? might not such an army have taken possession of Berlin, liberated the garrisons on the Oder, gone to the assistance of Dantzick, raised an insurrection in Poland, so well prepared for it, or, in short, done something bold, striking, unexpected, in a word, worthy of us?

What then was required to give a favourable turn to our destinies? the most trifling event before the allies entered France would have sufficed

to enable us to conclude a peace on reasonable terms at Francfort; and at a later period when the enemy was already in our own territory, the slightest cause of uneasiness in his rear at the time of the heroic actions of Champaubert, Montmirail, Vauchamp, Craon, Monterau, would probably have determined the hasty retreat of the allies, and insured our triumph, and perhaps their destruction. And if the general who had thus dared to devote himself had failed in the attempt, it would not have been the worse for us, since we have ultimately fallen; and he, in the spirit of our national character, would have gained to himself the reputation of a hero, and rendered his name immortal.

Instead of which about one hundred thousand men were lost to France, by tamely adhering to the letter of their instructions; a system which we had long since abandoned. But perhaps I speak inconsiderately and without due knowledge of the subject; perhaps local circumstances and objections of which I am totally ignorant might be adduced as conclusive answers against me; such as the health of the troops, the state of destitution in which they were; the non-reception of orders from the Emperor, who did endeavour to give some orders of that kind; the fear of deranging the main plan; the dread of incurring too great a responsibility, &c. But is it not rather that the source of these high conceptions, and the cause of their heroic execution, were to be found in Napoleon alone,

and that where *he* was not, as it may have been often observed, affairs were suffered to sink to the level of their ordinary course. Be that as it may, something of the kind was however suggested to the General commanding the army in Dantzick, at the time of the capitulation of that town. The idea came from an officer of inferior rank, it is true, but from one whose courage and intrepidity, and the success with which they had been crowned, entitled him perhaps to give such an opinion: it was Captain de Chambure, the leader of that renowned free company which covered itself with glory during the siege. This company had been formed, for that particular service, of one hundred picked men chosen out of the most notoriously intrepid, throughout all the corps of the army; it fulfilled, and even exceeded all the expectations which it had raised; and the besiegers, struck with terror at its exploits, honoured it with the name of *the infernal*. It would sometimes land at night in the rear of the Russian army, slaughter their sentinels, spike their guns, burn their magazines, destroy their parks, threaten the lives even of the generals, and return to the town through the enemy's camp over the bodies of all who opposed its passage. These facts and several others are recorded in the general orders of that army.

It cannot be denied that in ordinary times, in the days that preceded ours, every one of

these actions would have been sufficient to immortalize every individual who had a share in them, and that even amidst the wonders of our age they are deserving of particular notice. On his return from Elba, Napoleon was desirous of seeing the brave Chambure, who was covered with wounds: he was accordingly introduced to the Emperor by the Minister of War, and was immediately appointed to the command of a partisan corps on the eastern frontiers of France: where he again shewed himself worthy of his fame. Two English officers fell into his hands in the very heart of France, and at the moment of the violent exasperation produced by the recent disasters which had again befallen us. De Chambure protected these officers from the fury of his own soldiers, and preserved to them their equipages and even their baggage. Will it be believed? Some time after, this officer whose courage, loyalty, and above all, whose noble conduct were deserving of the highest recompense, was by a French tribunal condemned to the gallies for life, and to be branded and exposed in the pillory, for having, it was said, stopped and robbed two officers of the enemy's army on the highway! Such is the justice of party spirit! Such the monstrous aberrations to which the judgment and the consciences of men can be reconciled by the effervescence of civil commotions!

Under these circumstances no alternative was

left to Colonel de Chambure but a speedy retreat from his own country: it was in vain that from his exile he endeavoured to make the truth known; it was in vain that the two English officers gave the most extensive publicity to the testimonials of their gratitude; a considerable time elapsed before Colonel de Chambure could seize the opportunity of a moment of political calm, to deliver up his person to the tribunals, and call for a revision of his trial—that revision took place, and this time the result was a declaration that there were not even any grounds of accusation against him! This is indeed one of the peculiar signs of the times!

The Emperor's imaginary Plans for the future.—Napoleon little known even by his Household—His Religious Opinions.

From Friday 7th to Saturday 8th.—During a long private conversation this morning, the Emperor passed in review all the horrors of our present situation, and enumerated all the chances which hope suggested of better days.

After having gone over these topics, which I cannot repeat here, he gave the rein to his imagination, and said that the only countries in which he could reside for the future were England and America. His inclination, he added, prompted for America, because *there* he would be really free, and independence and repose were all he now sighed for: then followed an imaginary plan of

life: he fancied himself with his brother Joseph, in the midst of a little France, &c. &c. Yet policy, he observed, might decide for England. He was bound perhaps to remain a slave to events —he owed the sacrifice of himself to a nation which had done more for him, than he had done for it in return, &c. and then followed another imaginary plan for the future, &c.

In the course of our subsequent conversation, the Emperor could not sufficiently express his surprise at the conviction which he had obtained, that several of those who surrounded him and formed his court, believed the greatest part of the many absurdities and idle reports which had been circulated respecting himself, and that they even went so far as to doubt the falsehood of the enormities with which his reputation had been stained. Such as—that he wore armour in the midst of us —was addicted to the superstitions of forebodings and fatality—subject to fits of rage or of epilepsy —that he had strangled Pichegru—caused a poor English captain's throat to be cut, &c. &c. And we could not but admit that his invective against us on the occasion was merited; all we could allege in our defence was, that many circumstances had concurred to leave those who formerly surrounded his person as much in ignorance on the subject as the bulk of the nation could be. We frequently saw him, I said, but we never held any communication with him; every

thing remained a mystery for us. Not a voice was raised to refute, whilst many in secret, and some that were nearest his person, either through perverseness, or with bad intentions, seemed ever busy in dealing out insinuations. As for myself, I candidly confessed that I had not formed a just idea of his disposition before I came here, although I could congratulate myself that I had certainly guessed him in part. "And yet," he observed in reply, "*you* have often seen me and heard me in "the Council of State."

In the evening, after dinner, the conversation turned upon religion. The Emperor dwelt on the subject at length. The following is a faithful summary of his arguments; I give it as being quite characteristic upon a point, which has probably often excited the curiosity of many.

The Emperor, after having spoken for some time with warmth and animation, said: "Every "thing proclaims the existence of a God, *that* can- "not be questioned; but all our religions are evi- "dently the work of men. Why are there so "many?—Why has ours not always existed?— "Why does it consider itself exclusively the right "one?—What becomes in that case of all the vir- "tuous men who have gone before us?—Why do "these religions revile, oppose, exterminate one "another?—Why has this been the case ever and "every where?—Because men are ever men; be- "cause priests have ever and every where intro-

" duced fraud and falsehood. However, as soon " as I had power I immediately re-established " religion. I made it the ground-work and " foundation upon which I built. I considered it " as the support of sound principles and good " morality, both in doctrine and in practice. " Besides, such is the restlesness of man, that his " mind requires *that something* undefined and " marvellous which religion offers; and it is better " for him to find it there, than to seek it of Cag- " liostro, of Mademoiselle Lenormand, or of the " other soothsayers and imposters." Somebody having ventured to say to him, that he might possibly in the end become devout, the Emperor answered with an air of conviction, that he feared not, and that it was with regret he said it; for it was no doubt a great source of consolation; but that his incredulity did not proceed from perverseness or from licentiousness of mind, but from the strength of his reason. " Yet," added he, " no " man can answer for what will happen, particu- " larly in his last moments. At present I certainly " believe that I shall die without a confessor; and " yet there is such a one (pointing to one of us) " who will perhaps receive my confession. I am as- " suredly very far from being an atheist, but I can- " not believe all that I am taught in spite of my " reason, without being false and a hypocrite. When " I became Emperor, and particularly after my mar- " riage with Maria Louisa, every effort was made

" to induce me to go with great pomp according " to the custom of the Kings of France, to take the " sacrament at the church of *Notre Dame;* but this " I positively refused to do: I did not believe in the " act sufficiently to derive any benefit from it, and " yet I believed too much in it to expose myself to " commit a profanation." On this occasion a certain person was alluded to, who had boasted, as it were, that he had never taken the sacrament. " That is very wrong," said the Emperor; " either " he has not fulfilled the intention of his educa- " tion, or his education had not been completed." Then, resuming the subject, he said, " To " explain where I come from, what I am, " and whither I go, is above my comprehension; " and yet all that is. I am like the watch that " exists, without possesessing the consciousness of " existence. However, the sentiment of religion is " so consolatory, that it must be considered as " a gift of Heaven: what a resource would it " not be for us here to possess it? What influ- " ence could men and events exercise over me, " if bearing my misfortunes as if inflicted by " God, I expected to be compensated by him with " happiness hereafter! What rewards have *I* not " a right to expect, who have run a career so ex- " traordinary, so tempestuous as mine has been, " without committing a single crime, and yet how " many might I not have been guilty of? I can " appear before the tribunal of God, I can await

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" his judgment without fear. He will not find my
" conscience stained with the thoughts of murder,
" and poisonings, with the infliction of violent and
" premeditated deaths, events so common in the
" history of those whose lives have resembled
" mine. I have wished only for the glory, the
" power, the greatness of France. All my facul-
" ties, all my efforts, all my moments, were di-
" rected to the attainment of that object. These
" cannot be crimes; to me they appeared acts of
" virtue! What then would be my happiness, if
" the bright prospect of futurity, presented itself
" to crown the last moments of my existence."

After a pause, he resumed. " How is it possi-
" ble that conviction can find its way to our hearts,
" when we hear the absurd language, and witness
" the acts of iniquity of the greatest number of
" those whose business it is to preach to us? I am
" surrounded by priests, who repeat incessantly,
" that their reign is not of this world, and yet they
" lay hands upon every thing that they can get.
" The pope is the head of that religion from hea-
" ven, and he thinks only of this world. What did
" the present Chief Pontiff? who is undoubtedly a
" good, and a holy man, not offer to be allowed to
" return to Rome! The surrender of the govern-
" ment of the church, of the institution of bishops,
" was not too high a price for him to give, to be-
" come once more a Secular Prince. Even now,
" he is the friend of all the Protestants, who grant

" him every thing, because they do not fear him. " He is only the enemy of catholic Austria, because " her territory surrounds his own, &c.

" Nevertheless," he observed again, " it cannot " be doubted, that as Emperor, the species of incre- " dulity which I felt was favourable to the nations " I had to govern. How could I have favoured " equally sects so opposed to one another, if I had " been under the influence of one of them? How " could I have preserved the independence of my " thoughts, and of my actions, under the controul " of a confessor, who would have governed me by " the dread of hell? What power cannot a wicked " man, the most stupid of mankind, thus exercise " over those by whom whole nations are governed? " Is it not the scene shifter at the opera, who from " behind the scenes, moves Hercules at his will? " Who can doubt that the last years of Lewis XIV. " would have been very different, had he been di- " rected by another confessor? I was so deeply " impressed with the truth of these opinions, that I " promised to do all in my power, to bring up my " son in the same religious persuasion, which I my- " self entertain," &c.

The Emperor ended the conversation, by desiring my son to bring him the New Testament; and taking it from the beginning, he read as far as the conclusion of the speech of Jesus on the mountain. He expressed himself struck with the highest admiration, at the purity, the sublimity, the

beauty of the morality it contained; and we all experienced the same feeling.

Portrait of the Directors.—Anecdotes.—18th Fructidor.

Sunday 9th.—The Emperor spoke much of the creation of the Directory; he had installed it, being then Commander-in-chief of the army of the interior. This brought him to pass in review the five Directors, whose portraits and characters he drew. He gave a lively picture of their follies, and their faults, and this led him to the events of Fructidor, and brought to light many curious transactions. I have collected the following particulars, partly, from some of his desultory conversations, and, partly, from his dictations of the campaigns of Italy.

"Barras," said the Emperor, "of a good family "of Provence, was an officer in the regiment of the "Isle of France; at the revolution, he was chosen "deputy to the national convention for the depart- "ment of the Var. He had no talent for oratory, "and no habits of business. After the 31st of May, "he was, together with Freron, appointed Com- "missioner to the army of Italy, and to Provence, "which was then the seat of civil war. On his re- "turn to Paris, he threw himself into the Thermi- "dorian party; threatened by Robespierre, as well "as Tallien and the remainder of Danton's party, "they united, and brought about the events of the "9th Thermidor. At the moment of the crisis, the

" convention named him to march against the *com-*
" *mune*, which had risen in favour of Robespierre ;
" he succeeded.

" This event gave him a great celebrity. After
" the downfall of Robespierre, all the Thermido-
" rians became the leading men of France.

" At the critical period of the 12th Vendemiaire,
" it was determined, in order to get rid at once of
" the three commissioners to the army of the inte-
" rior, to unite in the person of Barras the power of
" commissioner and commander of that army. But
" the circumstances in which he was placed were
" too much for him, they were above his powers.
" Barras had no experience in war, he had quitted
" the service when only a captain; he had no know-
" ledge of military affairs.

" The events of Thermidor and of Vendemiaire,
" brought him into the Directory; he did not pos-
" sess the qualifications required to fill that situa-
" tion, but he acted better than was expected from
" him, by those who knew him.

" He put his establishment on a splendid footing,
" kept a pack of hounds, and his expenses were con-
" siderable. When he went out of the Directory, on
" the 18th Brumaire, he had still a large fortune,
" and he did not attempt to conceal it. That fortune
" was not large enough to have contributed in the
" least to the derangement of the finances, but the
" manner in which it had been acquired, by favour-

" ing the contractors, impaired the morality of the " nation.

" Barras was tall; he spoke sometimes in mo- " ments of agitation, and his voice filled the house. " His intellectual capacity did not allow him to " go beyond a few sentences, but the animation " with which he spoke would have produced the " impression that he was a man of resolution; this " however he was not; and he had no opinion of " his own upon any part of the administration of " public affairs.

" In Fructidor, he formed with Rewbel and La " Reveillere Lepaux, the majority against Carnot " and Barthelemy; after that event he became to " all appearance the most considerable man of the " Directory, but, in reality, it was Rewbel who pos- " sessed the greatest influence. Barras always ap- " peared in public the warm friend of Napoleon. " At the time of the 30th Prairial, he had the art " to conciliate to himself the preponderating party " in the assembly, and he did not share the dis- " grace of his colleagues.

" La Reveillere Lepaux, born at Angers, belonged " to the lower ranks of the middling class of society. " He was short, and his exterior was as unprepos- " sessing as can well be imagined; in his person " he was a true Æsop. He wrote tolerably well, " but his intelligence was confined, and he had nei- " ther habits of business, nor knowledge of man- " kind. He was alternately governed, according

" to circumstances by Carnot or Rewbel. The " *Jardin des plantes*, and the Theophilanthropy, " a new religion of which he had the folly to " become the founder, occupied all his time. In " other respects, he was a patriot, warm and sin- " cere, an honest man, and a citizen full of probity " and of learning; he was poor when he became " a member of the Directory, and poor when he " left it. Nature had not qualified him to occupy " any higher station, than that of an inferior ma- " gistrate."

Napoleon, after his return from the army of Italy, found himself, without knowing why, the object of the particular assiduity, the marked attentions and flatteries of the Director La Reveillere, who asked him one day to dine with him, strictly *en famille*, in order, he said, to be more at liberty to converse together. The young General accepted the invitation, and found, as he had promised, nobody present but the Director, his wife, and his daughter, who by the way, the Emperor added, were three paragons of ugliness. After the dessert, the two ladies retired, and the conversation took a serious turn. La Reveillere descanted at length upon the disadvantages of our religion, upon the necessity, however, of having one, and extolled and enumerated the advantages of the religion which he wanted to establish, the Theophilanthropy. I was beginning to find the conversation rather long and heavy, said the Emperor, when on

a sudden, La Reveillere rubbing his hands with an air of satisfaction, said to me affectedly, and with an arch look: "How valuable the acquisition of a "man like you would be to us—what advantage, "what weight would be derived from your name— "and how glorious that circumstance would be to "you!—Now what do you think of it?"—The young General was far from expecting to receive such a proposal; however, he replied with humility, that he did not think himself worthy of such an honour; and his principles being, when treading an obscure path, to follow the track of those who had preceded him in it, he was resolved to act on the article of religion, as his father and mother had done. This positive answer convinced the high-priest, that nothing was to be done; he did not insist, but from that moment there was an end of all his attentions and flatteries towards the young General.

"Rewbel," said the Emperor, "born in Alsace, "was one of the best lawyers in the town of Colmar. "He possessed that kind of intelligence, which de- "notes a man skilled in the practice of the bar,— "his influence was always felt in deliberations, "—he was easily inspired with prejudices—did "not believe much in the existence of virtue—and "his patriotism was tinged with a degree of en- "thusiasm. It is problematical whether he did or "did not amass a fortune, during the time he was "in the *Directory;* he was surrounded by contrac-

" tors it is true,—but with his turn of mind, it is " possible that he only amused himself by con- " versing with men of activity and enterprise, and " that he enjoyed their flatteries, without making " them pay for the *complaisance* he shewed them. " He bore a particular hatred to the Germanic " system—he displayed great energy in the assem- " blies, both before and after the period of his " being a magistrate, and was fond of a life of ap- " plication and activity. He had been a member " of the Constituent Assembly, and of the Conven- " tion; by the latter he was appointed Commis- " sioner at Mentz, where he gave no proofs of firm- " ness, or of military talent; he contributed to the " surrender of the town, which might have held " out longer. He, like all lawyers, had imbibed " from his profession a prejudice against the army.

" Carnot, born in Burgundy, had entered very " young the corps of engineers, and shewed him- " self an advocate of the system of Montalembert. " He was considered by his companions an eccen- " tric character, and was already a knight of the " order of St. Louis when the revolution begun, the " principles of which he warmly espoused. He " became a member of the convention, and was one " of the *Comité de Salut public* with Robespierre " Barrère, Couthon, Saint-Juste, Billaud-Varenes, " Collot-d' Herbois, &c. He shewed himself par- " ticularly inveterate against the nobility, and found " himself in consequence, frequently engaged in

" quarrels with Robespierre, who, towards the close " of his life, had taken a great many nobles under " his protection.

" Carnot was laborious, sincere on every occa- " sion, but unaccustomed to intrigue, and easily de- " ceived. He was attached to Jourdan, as commis- " sioner from the *Convention*, at the time Jourdan " was employed in relieving the town of Mentz, " which was besieged; and he rendered some ser- " vices on the occasion. At the *Comité de Salut* " *public*, he directed the operations of the war, and " was found useful, but he had neither experience " nor practice in the affairs of war. He shewed on " every occasion a great strength of mind.

" After the events of Thermidor, when the *Con-* " *vention* caused all the members of the *Comité de* " *Salut public* to be arrested, with the exception of " himself, Carnot insisted upon sharing their fate. " This conduct was the more noble, inasmuch as " public opinion had pronounced itself violently " against the *Comité*. He was named member of " the Directory after Vendemiaire; but after the " 9th Thermidor his mind was deeply affected by " the reproaches of public opinion, which accused " the *Comité* of all the blood which had flowed on " the scaffold. He felt the necessity of gaining " esteem, and believing that he took the lead, he " suffered himself to be led by some of those who " directed the party from abroad. His merit was " then extolled to the skies, but he did not deserve

" the praises of the enemies of France; he found " himself placed in a critical situation, and fell in " Fructidor.

" After the 18th Brumaire, Carnot was recalled " by the First Consul and placed in the department " of war; he had several quarrels with the minister " of the finances, and Dufresnes the director of the " treasury, in which it is but fair to say that he " was always in the wrong. At last he left the " department, persuaded that it could no longer " go on for want of money.

" When a member of the *Tribunate*, he spoke " and voted against the establishment of the Em- " pire; but his conduct, open and manly, gave no " uneasiness to the administration. At a later " period he was appointed chief inspector of " reviews, and received from the Emperor on his " retiring from the service a pension of twenty " thousand francs. As long as things went on " prosperously, the Emperor heard nothing of him; " but after the campaign of Russia, at the time of " the disasters of France, Carnot asked to be em- " ployed; he was appointed to command the town " of Antwerp, and he behaved well at his post. On " his return in 1815, the Emperor, after a little he- " sitation, appointed him to be minister of the " interior, and had no cause to repent of having " done so; he found him faithful, laborious, full " of probity, and always sincere. In the month of " June, Carnot was named one of the Commission

" of the Provisional Government, but being unfit " for the place, he was duped."

Le Tourneur de la Manche was born in Normandy; he had been an officer of engineers before the revolution. It is difficult to explain how he came to be appointed to the *Directory;* it can only be from one of those unaccountable caprices of which large assemblies so often give an example. " He was a man of narrow capacity, little learning, " and of a weak mind. There were in the Conven- " tion five hundred deputies that were better qua- " lified for the situation; he was however a man " of strict probity, and left the Directory without " any fortune."

Le Tourneur made himself the talk and the laughing stock of Paris: it was said that he came from his department to take possession at the Directory in a cart, with his housekeeper, his kitchen utensils, and his poultry. The wags of the capital marked him, and he was overwhelmed with ridicule. He was made, for instance, to return from the *Jardin des Plantes,* where he had run immediately on his arrival in Paris, and to give an account of the rare things he had found there; and on being asked whether he had seen Lacepede,* to express his surprise at having passed it unobserved, affirming that the cameleopard was the only animal that had been pointed out to him.†

* A professor of natural history.

† I have been since told that part of these jokes relate to

"The Directory was hardly established before "it began to lower itself in public estimation "by caprices, bad morals, and false measures. "The faults and absurdities which it committed "daily completed its discredit, and it was lost in "reputation almost at the very moment of its for- "mation. Intoxicated with their elevation, the Di- "rectors though it became them to adopt a cer- "tain air, and sought to acquire the appearance "and manners of *bon ton*. In order the better to "succeed, they formed each to himself a little "court, where they received and welcomed the "higher classes, hitherto in disgrace, and who "were naturally their enemies, and from which "they excluded the greatest part of their old ac- "quaintances and former companions, as thence- "forward too vulgar. All those who during the "revolution had shown more energy than the "members of the Directory, or who had trodden "in the same path with them, became odious "to them and were immediately removed; and "the Directory thus rendered itself ridiculous to "one party, and alienated from itself the affections "of the other. These five little courts exacted a "greater degree of servility in proportion as they "were inferior and ridiculous; but numbers of "men were found who could not bring themselves

a man of the name of Letourneux, who was a minister about that time.

" to bend and submit to formalities which the re-
" collection of recent circumstances, the nature of
" the government and the character of the go-
" vernors, rendered inadmissible.

" However, all the Directory could do to gain
" over the saloons of Paris proved of no avail; it
" did not succeed in acquiring any influence over
" them, and the Bourbon party was gaining ground.
" The Directors no sooner perceived this than they
" hastily retraced their steps; but it was too late
" to recover the good will of the republicans whom
" they had estranged from themselves by their
" conduct. This led to a system of wavering
" which looked like caprice, no course was laid
" down to steer by, no object was kept in view, no
" unity prevailed. The reigns of terror and of
" royalty were equally objected to; but in the
" mean time the road which was to lead to the
" goal was left untried. The Directory thought to
" put an end to this state of uncertainty and avoid
" these perpetual waverings, by striking at one
" blow the two extreme parties, whether they had
" deserved it or not: if therefore a royalist who
" had conspired or disturbed the public tranquillity
" was arrested by their orders, they caused a re-
" publican, innocent or guilty, to be arrested at
" the same moment. This system was nicknamed
" *The Political Seesaw*, but the injustice and fraud
" which characterized it entirely discredited the

" government; every heart was closed; the govern-
" ment became one of lead. Every true and gene-
" rous feeling was against the Directory.

" Men of business, jobbers and intriguers, by pos-
" sessing themselves of the springs of government,
" acquired the greatest influence; all places were
" given to worthless individuals, to *protégés*, or to
" relations—corruption crept into every branch of
" the administration; this was soon perceived, and
" those who had it in their power to waste the
" public money could act without fear; the foreign
" relations, the armies, the finances, the depart-
" ment of the interior, all felt the pernicious effects
" of a system so defective. This state of things
" soon gathered a storm on the political horizon,
" and led by rapid strides to the crisis of Fructidor.

" At that period the measures of the Directory
" were weak, capricious and uncertain; emigrants
" returned to France, and newspapers, paid by fo-
" reigners, dared openly to stigmatize the most
" deserving of our patriots. The fury of the ene-
" mies of our national glory exasperated the sol-
" diers of the army of Italy, which declared itself
" loudly against them; whilst the councils, in their
" turn, acting the parts of real counter-revolution-
" ists, spoke of nothing but priests, bells, and emi-
" grants—all the officers of the army who had
" distinguished themselves more or less in the de-
" partments, in the battalions of volunteers, or
" even in the regiments of the line, feeling them-

" selves thus attacked in their dearest interests, " inflamed more and more the anger of their sol- " diers—the minds of all parties were in a state of " effervescence. In a moment of such violent agi- " tation what measures could the General of the " army of Italy adopt? he had the choice of three:

" 1st. To side with the preponderating party in " the Councils—but it was too late; the army had " pronounced itself, and the leaders of that party, " the orators of the Council, by attacking inces- " santly both the General and his army, had not " left him the possibility of adopting that reso- " lution.

2dly. " To embrace the party of the Directory " and of the Republic. That was the plainest " course, that which duty pointed out, which the " army inclined to, and that in which he was " already engaged; for all the writers who had " remained faithful to the cause of the revolution " had declared themselves, of their own accord, " the ardent defenders and warm advocates of the " army and its commanders.

3dly. " To overpower both factions, by step- " ping forward boldly and appearing openly in " the contest as regulator of the republic. But " notwithstanding the strength which Napoleon " felt that he derived from the support of the " army, although his character was highly es- " teemed in France, he did not think that the " spirit of the times, and public opinion were such

" as to allow him to take so daring a step. And " besides, if this third measure had been that to " which he secretly inclined, he could not have " adopted it immediately, and without having " previously sided with one of the two parties, " which appeared at that moment in the political " lists. It was absolutely necessary, even in or- " der to form a third party, to side first either with " the councils or with the Directory.

" Thus of the three measures to be adopted, " the third in its execution merged into the " two first, and he was entirely debarred from " adopting the first of these two by the new for- " mation of the councils, and by the attacks al- " ready made upon him by them.

" These considerations and conclusions, the " Emperor observed, were the natural result of " a deep meditation upon the then existing state " of affairs in France. The General had there- " fore nothing to do but to let events take their " course, and second the impulse of his troops. " And this view of the subject produced the pro- " clamation to the army of Italy, and the far " famed order of the day of its General.

" ' Soldiers! he said, I know that your hearts " are full of grief at the calamities of our coun- " try; but if it were possible that foreign armies " should triumph, we would fly from the summit " of the alps with the rapidity of the eagle, to

" defend once more that cause which has already " cost us so much blood.'

" These words decided the question, the sol- " diers in ecstasy were for marching at once upon " Paris. The noise of the event spread immedi- " diately to the capital, and produced a most " powerful sensation. The Directory, which every " body considered as lost, which the moment before " was tottering alone and abandoned, found itself " at once supported by public opinion; it imme- " diately assumed the attitude, and followed the " course of a triumphant party, and defeated all " its enemies.

" The General of the army of Italy had sent " the proclamation to his soldiers to the Direc- " tory by Augereau, because he was a Parisian and " strongly pronounced in favour of the prevailing " notions of the day.

" Nevertheless, the politicians of the day made " the following surmises: What would Napoleon " have done if the councils had triumphed; if that " faction, instead of being overthrown, had, on " the contrary, overthrown the Directory? In that " case, it appears, that he was determined to " march upon Lyons and Mirbel with fifteen " thousand men, where he would have been joined " by all the republicans from the south and from " Burgundy. The victorious council would not " have been more than three or four days without

" coming to some violent rupture and division; for " it is known, that if the numbers of these councils " were unanimous in their proceedings against the " Directory, they were far from being so as to the " further course they meant to pursue. The lead- " ers, such as Pichegru, Imbert-Colomès, and " others, sold to foreign powers, exerted all their " influence to restore royalty and bring about a " counter-revolution, whilst Carnot and others " sought to produce results quite opposite to " these. France would therefore have become " immediately a prey to confusion and anarchy, " and in that case, all factions would have seen " with satisfaction, Napoleon appear as a rallying " point, an anchor of safety, capable of saving " them at the same time from the terrors of roy- " alty, and from the terrors of demagogues. Na- " poleon would then naturally have repaired to " Paris, and found himself placed at the head of " affairs by the unanimous wish and consent of all " parties. The majority of the councils was strong " and positive, it is true, but it was only against " the Directors; it would divide *ad infinitum* as " soon as they were overturned.

" The choice of three new Directors having " openly exposed the true intention of the mea- " sures of the counter-revolution, the greatest " number of the citizens, in their alarm, were " ready to fly to meet Napoleon with the national

" oriflamme* unfurled; for the true counter-revolu-
" tionists were after all few in number, and their
" pretensions were too ridiculous and absurd.
" Every thing would have given way before Napo-
" leon. Had they called him Cæsar or Cromwell,
" still he proceeded supported by a religion, and a
" party whose ideas were settled and popular; he
" was master of his soldiers, the coffers of the
" army were full, and he was in possession of every
" other means calculated to ensure their constancy
" and their fidelity; if the question were now to
" be decided whether Napoleon, in the secret of
" his own mind, would, or would not have wished
" affairs to take this turn, we should give our
" opinion in the affirmative; and we are led to be-
" lieve from the following fact, that his wishes and
" his hopes were in favour of the triumph of the
" majority of the councils. At the moment of the
" crisis between the two factions, a secret decree
" signed by the three members composing the
" party of the Directory, asked him for three mil-
" lions to resist the attack of the councils; but
" Napoleon, under various pretences, did not send
" them, although it would have been easy for him
" to do so; yet it is well known that his dispo-
" sition did not allow him to hesitate in money
" matters.

* The *oriflamme* was a flag which was carried before the kings of France.

"Therefore, when the struggle was over, and "the Directory took pleasure in acknowledging "openly that it owed its existence to Napoloen, "it still entertained some vague suspicions that "Napoleon had only espoused its party in the hopes "of seeing it overthrown, and of taking its place.

"Be that as it may, after the 18th Fructidor, the "enthusiasm of the army was at its height, and the "triumph of Napoleon complete. But the Direc- "tory, notwithstanding its apparent gratitude, sur- "rounded Napolcon from that moment with nu- "merous agents, who watched over his motions "and endeavoured to penetrate the secrets of his "thoughts.

"The situation of Napoleon was one of extreme "delicacy, although his conduct was so well regu- "lated and so admirable, that even at this period "we can only form mere conjectures on the sub- "ject; but to the delicacy of his situation it is that "we think we can trace the principal reasons which "led to the conclusion of the peace at Campo "Formio, to his refusal to remain at the Congress "of Rastadt, and finally, to the undertaking of the "expedition to Egypt.

"As it always happens in France, immediately "after the 18 Fructidor, the party that had been "overthrown disappeared on a sudden, and the "majority of the Directory triumphed without "moderation. It became every thing, and re- "duced the councils to nothing.

" Napoleon then felt the necessity of peace, " which, putting an end to the present state of af- " fairs, would enhance his popularity: he had " every thing to fear from the prolongation of " war; it might furnish, to those who might have " suspected him, pretexts to injure him with fa- " cility; or the intention might be, to expose him " in situations of difficulty, and unite the other ge- " nerals against him.

" Two of the generals who enjoyed the greatest " reputation at that time, manifested openly the " nature of their dispositions with respect to the " great affair of Fructidor: these were Moreau and " Hoche.

" Moreau had declared himself positively against " the Directory, and, by a line of conduct at once " pusillanimous and culpable, he failed in his duty " and compromised his honour.

" Hoche was entirely in favour of the Directory, " impelled by the impetuosity of his disposition, " he marched part of his army upon Paris, and " failed by acting with too much precipitation. " His troops were countermanded by the influence " of the Councils, and he himself was obliged to " leave Paris to avoid being arrested by order of " these said Councils. Hoche had therefore done " nothing to contribute to the success of the 18th " Fructidor, on the contrary he had injured the " cause by an excess of zeal. But he had shown " himself a man entirely devoted to the Directory,

" and the majority of them could trust in him " without reserve, although his imprudence had " nearly been the cause of their ruin.

" That same majority of the Directory enter- " tained doubts, on the contrary, with respect to " Napoleon, who had been the cause of their triumph; " they still thought it possible that the General of " the army of Italy had calculated that the Direc- " tory would fall in the contest with the Councils, " and that he might then rise upon its ruins.

" But how could the Directory reconcile that " supposition with the acts of the General who had " done every thing to ensure its triumph? for it is " evident that without the order of the day of Na- " poleon, and the address to his army, the Direc- " tory was lost.

" Some persons, well informed on the subject, " seem to think that Napoleon had really not " formed a due estimate of the influence he exer- " cised in France—that he had suffered himself to " be misled by the libels and the newspapers di- " rected against him — and that he had consi- " dered the measures which he adopted calcu- " lated not to ensure the complete triumph of the " Directory, but to produce precisely the effect of " rendering him the deliverer and the true support " of the republic. The same persons add, that when " the officers whom Napoleon had at Paris, and " letters from every part of France, had informed " him that his proclamation had in one moment

" changed altogether the state of public feeling in " the interior, then, and then only he saw that he had " gone too far. We are the more ready to adopt " that opinion, as we cannot understand why Na- " poleon should have thought of preserving three " Directors whom he did not care about. The " only one he esteemed (Carnot) was of the oppo- " site party, and we know that he felt indignant at " the corruption and weakness of the others.

" A man by the name of Bottot, a private agent " of Barras was sent to Napoleon with secret in- " structions, to endeavour to penetrate his views, " and ascertain why he had not sent the three " millions of which the Directory had stood so " much in need! Bottot found the French Ge- " neral at Passeriano, and began to intrigue right " and left with those who surrounded Napo- " leon; but he found every one warmly attached " to the party that had triumphed; and having " some concerns of his own to arrange, he at last, " in the course of some private conversations, con- " fessed the secret of his mission and the vague " suspicions entertained by the Directory. He " had been soon disabused by the appearance of " simplicity which distinguished Napoleon's esta- " blishment, by the frankness of Napoleon him- " self; and above all by the enthusiasm of the " army, and of the whole of Italy in favour of the " General. But even if the suspicion of the Di- " rectory had been founded, it would not have

" been difficult, with a few marks of attention, " and some frank and unaffected conversations, to " remove from Bottot's mind, surrounded as he " then was, all cause of umbrage.

" He wrote to Paris that the fears that had been " entertained were altogether groundless, and " much less to be dreaded than the perverseness of " those who wished to inspire them—but the three " millions, it was objected to him, why were they " refused? Napoleon had proved that the order " sent by the Directory was mysterious and irre- " gular, and, that encompassed as it was by such " rogues as F—— and others who had already " plundered the public treasure, he had thought " it prudent to ascertain the truth; that he had " immediately dispatched Lavalette his confiden- " tial aid-de-camp to Paris, and that as soon as " Lavalette had informed him of the true state of " affairs, he had prepared three millions, and was " on the point of sending them when the fate of " the day was decided."

English diplomacy.—Lord Whitworth.—Chatham—Castlereagh.—Cornwallis.—Fox, &c.

Monday 10th.—The course of our conversation to day led the Emperor to observe, that nothing was so dangerous and so treacherous as official conversations with diplomatical agents of Great Britain. " The English Ministers," said he, " never " represent an affair as from their nation to ano-

" ther, but as from themselves to their own nation. " They care little what their adversaries have said " or say; they boldly put forward what their di- " plomatical agents have said, or what they make " them say, on the grounds that those agents " having a public and acknowledged character, " faith must be placed in their reports. It is in " pursuance of this principle, Napoleon added, " that the English Ministers published at the time, " under the name of Lord Whitworth, a long con- " versation between me and Whitworth, the ac- " count of which was entirely false."*

That ambassador had demanded an audience of the First Consul, and to hold conferences with him personally. The First Consul, who was himself fond of treating affairs directly, willingly assented. " But this proved for me," said the Emperor, " a " lesson which altered my method for ever. From " this moment I never treated officially, of poli- " tical affairs, but through the intervention of my " minister for Foreign Affairs. He at any rate " could give a positive and formal denial; which " the sovereign could not do.

* We who have been at St. Helena, we who have seen and been concerned in the facts alledged by Lord Bathurst, before the parliament of Great Britain, we all can affirm before God and mankind, that the British Ministers have on that occasion fully deserved the just reproaches which they incurred at the time of Lord Whitworth. Many Englishmen who were then at St. Helena, have acknowledged it to us, and have confessed that they blushed for their country ! !

"It is utterly false," added the Emperor, "that "any thing occurred in the course of our per- "sonal interview, which was not in conformity "with the common rules of decorum. Lord Whit- "worth himself after our conference, being in "company with other Ambassadors, expressed "himself perfectly satisfied, and added, that he "had no doubt all things would be satisfactorily "settled. But what was the surprise of those "same Ambassadors when they read a short time "after in the English newspapers the report of "Lord Whitworth, in which he charged me with "having behaved in the interview with unbecoming "violence? We had some warm friends amongst "these Ambassadors, and some of them went "so far as to express their surprise to the English "diplomatist, observing to him that his report "was very different from what he had said to "them immediately after the conference. Lord "Whitworth made the best excuse he could, but "persisted in maintaining the assertions of the "official document.

"The fact is," said the Emperor, "that every "political agent of Great Britain is in the habit of "making two reports on the same subject; one "public and false for the ministerial archives, the "other confidential and true for the Ministers "themselves, and for them alone; and when the "responsibility of Ministers is at stake, they pro- "duce the first of these documents, which, al-

"though false, answers every purpose, and serves "to exonerate them. And thus it is," added the Emperor, "that the best institutions become "vicious, when they are no longer founded on "morality, and when their agents are only ac- "tuated by selfishness, pride, and insolence. Abso- "lute power has no need of disguise; it is silent; "responsible governments, when obliged to speak, "have recourse to artifice, and lie with effron- "tery.

"It is, however, a circumstance worthy of re- "mark, that in my great struggle with England, "the government of that country has constantly "contrived to attach so much odium to my per- "son and actions; and that they have so im- "pudently exclaimed against my despotism, my "selfishness, my ambition, and my perfidy, when "they alone were guilty of all they dared to lay "to my charge. A very strong prejudice must "have existed against me, I must have been in- "deed very much to be feared, since people could "suffer themselves to be thus deceived. I can "understand it from Kings and Cabinets, their "existence was at stake; but from the people!!..

"The British Ministers spoke incessantly of my "duplicity; but could any thing be compared to "their machiavelism, their selfishness, during the "existence of disorders and convulsions, which "were kept alive by them?

"They sacrificed unfortunate Austria in 1805,

"merely to escape the invasion with which I "threatened them.

"They sacrificed her again in 1809, to be more "at liberty to act in the Peninsula.

"They sacrified Prussia in 1806, in the hopes "of recovering Hanover.

"They did not assist Russia in 1807, because "they preferred to go and seize upon distant colo- "nies, and because they were attempting to take "possession of Egypt.

"They gave to the world the infamous spectacle "of bombarding Copenhagen in full peace, and "lying in ambush to steal the Danish fleet. "They had already once before exhibited a similar "spectacle by seizing, like highway robbers, also "in full peace, four Spanish frigates laden with "rich treasures.

"Lastly, during the war in the Peninsula, where "they endeavoured to prolong the existence of "of anarchy and confusion, their principal care "was to traffic with the wants and the blood of "the Spanish nation, by obliging it to purchase "their services and their supplies at the expense "of gold and concessions.

"Whilst all Europe through their intrigues and "their subsidies was bathed in blood, they were "only intent upon providing for their own safety, "gaining advantages for their trade, and obtaining "the sovereignty of the sea, and the monopoly of "the world. As for myself I had never done any

" thing of the kind, and until the unfortunate busi-
" ness with Spain, which after all is not to be
" compared to the affair of Copenhagen, I can say
" that my morality is unimpeachable. My actions
" had perhaps been dictatorial and peremptory,
" but never disgraced by perfidy. Who can be
" surprised after all this, if in 1814, although Eng-
" land had really been the deliverer of Europe,
" not a single Englishman could show himself on
" the Continent without meeting at every step with
" maledictions, hatred, and execrations? Who
" can ask how this happened? Every tree bears
" its own fruit; we reap only what we have sown;
" and such was necessarily the infallible result of
" the misdeeds of the English Government, the
" tyranny and the insolence of the Ministers in
" London, and of their agents all over the globe.

" For the last fifty years the administrations of
" Great Britain have gradually declined in con-
" sideration and in public estimation. Formerly
" they were disputed by great national parties,
" characterised by grand and distinct systems;
" but now we see only the bickerings of one and
" the same oligarchy, having constantly the same
" object in view, and whose discordant members
" adjust their differences by compromise and con-
" cessions: they have turned the Cabinet of St.
" James's into a shop.

" The policy of Lord Chatham was marked by
" acts of injustice, no doubt; but at least he pro-

" claimed them with boldness and energy, they had
" a certain air of grandeur. Pitt introduced into the
" Cabinet a system of hypocrisy and dissimulation.
" Lord Castlereagh, the self-styled heir of Pitt, has
" brought into it the extreme of every kind of tur-
" pitude and immorality. Chatham gloried in being
" a merchant; Lord Castlereagh, to the serious in-
" jury of his nation, has indulged himself in the
" satisfaction of acting the fine *gentleman;* he has
" sacrificed his country to fraternise with the great
" people of the continent, and from that moment
" has united in his person the vices of the saloon
" with the cupidity of the counting-house; the
" duplicity and obsequiousness of the courtier with
" the haughtiness and insolence of the upstart. The
" poor English constitution is in imminent danger.
" What a difference between such men, and the
" Foxes, Sheridans and Greys, those great talents,
" those noble characters of the opposition, who
" have been the objects of the ridicule of a victo-
" rious oligarchy!

" Lord Cornwallis," said the Emperor, " is the
" first Englishman that gave me, in good earnest,
" a favourable opinion of his nation; after him
" Fox, and I might add to these, if it were neces-
" sary, our present Admiral (Malcolm).

" Cornwallis was, in every sense of the word, a
" worthy, good and honest man. At the time of
" the treaty of Amiens, the terms having been
" agreed upon, he had promised to sign the next

" day at a certain hour: something of consequence " detained him at home, but he pledged his word. " The evening of that same day, a courier arrived " from London proscribing certain articles of the " treaty, but he answered that he had signed, and " immediately came and actually signed. We " understood each other perfectly well; I had " placed a regiment at his disposal, and he took " pleasure in seeing its *manœuvres*. I have pre- " served an agreeable recollection of him in " every respect, and it is certain that a request " from him would have had more weight with me, " perhaps, than one from a crowned head. His " family appears to have guessed this to be the " case; some requests have been made to me in " its name, which have all been granted.

" Fox came to France immediately after the " peace of Amiens. He was employed in writing " a history of the Stuarts, and asked my permis- " sion to search our diplomatical archives. I " gave orders that every thing should be placed at " his disposal. I received him often. Fame had " informed me of his talents, and I soon found " that he possessed a noble character, a good heart, " liberal, generous and enlightened views. I con- " sidered him an ornament to mankind, and was " very much attached to him. We often con- " versed together, upon various topics without the " least prejudice; when I wished to engage in a " little controversy, I turned the conversation

" upon the subject of the *machine infernale ;* and " told him that his ministers had attempted to " murder me ; he would then oppose my opinion " with warmth, and invariably ended the con- " versation by saying, in his bad French, *First* " *Consul, pray take that out of your head.* But " he was not convinced of the truth of the cause " he undertook to advocate, and there is every " reason to believe that he argued more in defence " of his country, than of the morality of its mi- " nisters."

The Emperor ended the conversation, by say- ing : " Half a dozen such men as Fox and Corn- " wallis would be sufficient to establish the moral " character of a nation . . .With such men I should " always have agreed ; we should soon have set- " tled our differences, and not only France would " have been at peace with a nation at bottom " most worthy of esteem, but we should have done " great things together."

History of the Convention by Lacretelle.—Statistical Notice of the Oxen of the Island.—Puns.—Statistics in general.

Tuesday 11.—The wind and rain had rendered the weather horrible. The Emperor, about three o'clock, took advantage of a short interval to visit the garden. He sent for me, and had just read the history of the Convention by Lacretelle. It was, he observed, certainly not ill-written ; but it

was ill-digested, and made no impression on the memory; the whole was a smooth surface without a single asperity to arrest attention. He did not thoroughly examine his subject: he did not do justice to many celebrated characters; he did not give an adequate colouring to the crimes of several others, &c.

The rain obliged us to return, and we walked alone for a long time in the saloon and the dining room.

We had been informed, that there were four thousand oxen in the island, and that the annual consumption consisted of five hundred, of which number one hundred and fifty were appropriated to us, fifty to the colony, and three hundred to the shipping. It was added, that four years were requisite for the reproduction of the stock, and this formed a subject for our calculations; an employment for which the Emperor's peculiar taste is well known.

The subsistence and consumption of these oxen constitute a great portion of the public interest in the island. A single beast cannot be killed without the previous order of the governor, and it was stated by one of our people, that the owner of one of the houses or huts of the island, speaking to him on the subject, said: "It is reported, that you complain up yonder, and consider yourselves unhappy; (he spoke of Longwood) but we are at a loss to make it out; for it is said that you have

beef every day, while we cannot get it but three or four times a year, and even then we pay for it at the rate of fifteen or twenty pence a pound." The Emperor, who laughed heartily at the story, observed, "You ought to have assured him, that it "cost us several *crowns*." *Crowns* in English, and in several languages of the continent, means also a piece of money.

I observed latterly, that it was the only pun I had till then heard from the Emperor's mouth, but the person to whom I made the remark, said he had heard of his having made a similar one, and on the same subject in the isle of Elba. A mason employed in some buildings, which were to be constructed by the Emperor's order, had fallen and hurt himself; the Emperor wishing to encourage him, assured him, that it would be of no consequence. "I have had," said he, "a much worse "fall than yours; but look at me, I am on my legs, "and in good health."

The Emperor's attention was for a moment directed to *political statistics*. He highly extolled the progress and utility of that new science, so well adapted, he observed, to point out the path of truth, to establish judgment, and confirm decision. He called it the *budget of things*, and "without the "budget," he declared in a pleasant tone, "there "is no safety."

The singular application of the science by an Englishman or German, who had the patience and

resolution, to ascertain the number of times each letter of the alphabet occurred in the Bible, was then noticed by a person present. He also mentioned another application of it, less dull, but not less singular. It was that made by a German, eighty years of age, who amused himself with calculating what he might have eaten, during his life, in beef, mutton, poultry, vegetables, &c. &c. as well as what he had drunk. The estimate comprehended immense droves, flocks, and accumulations of all sorts. The public market place was incapable of containing all he had devoured. This minute applicant of the science did not stop there. He had the curiosity to inquire how often he might have again swallowed the same things. For, he judiciously observed, their transmutation in his person ought necessarily to have contributed to their reproduction. The Emperor laughed much at the calculation, and more particularly at the whimsical repetition of the same eatables.

Characters. Bailli, Lafayette, Monges, Grégoire, &c.—St. Domingo.—System to be followed.—Dictations on the Convention.

June 12th.—We have had three days of horrible weather, when a moment that promised to continue fine, induced the Emperor to take an airing in his carriage. He had just finished reading the History of the Constituent Assembly, by Rabeau de St. Etienne. He entertained very nearly the same opi-

nion of this writer, as of Lacretelle. He then took occasion to notice several characters. "Bailli," he said, "was not a bad man, but unquestionably "a miserable politician."

"Lafayette was another simpleton, and by no "means formed for the eminent character he wished "to represent. His political simplicity was such, "that he could not avoid being the constant dupe "of men and things.

"All was lost on my return from Waterloo, by "his insurrection of the chambers. Who could have "persuaded him, that I had arrived merely for the "purpose of dissolving them;—I, whose only safety "was centred in them?"*

One of the party saying, by way of excuse or extenuation; "It was, however, sire, the same man, "who, treating afterwards with the allies, was filled "with indignation at their proposal of delivering up "your Majesty, and eagerly asked, if it was to the "prisoner of Olmutz, they dared to address themselves?"—"But, sir," replied the Emperor, "You "run from one subject to another, or rather, you "concur with, instead of opposing my opinion. I "have not attacked the sentiments or intentions of "M. de Lafayette; I have only complained of their "fatal results."

The Emperor then continued, in the same way, to review the leading men of that period. He

* See note of the third part.

dwelt at considerable length on the affair of Favras, &c.

"Besides," observed the Emperor, "Nothing "was more common, than to find men of that epoch "quite the reverse in character of that which their "words and actions seemed to establish. *Monges*, "for instance, might be considered a terrible man. "When war was resolved upon, he declared from "the tribune of the Jacobins, that he would give his "two daughters in marriage to the two first soldiers "who might be wounded by the enemy. This he "was at liberty to do, in the strict sense of the gift, "as far as it respected himself; but he maintained, "that others should be compelled to follow his example, and that all the nobility should be put to "death, &c. Yet, Monges was one of the mildest "and weakest men living, and would not allow a "chicken to be killed, if he were obliged to do it "himself, or to see it done. This furious republican, as he believed himself, cherished, however, "a kind of worship for me, which he pushed to adoration. He loved me, as one loves his mistress.

"*Grégoire*, whose animosity to the clergy, "whom he wished to bring back to their original "simplicity, was so great that he might have passed "for a champion of irreligion, may be mentioned as "another instance; yet Grégoire, when the revolutionists were denying their God and abolishing "the priesthood, was very nearly being massacred "in mounting the tribune for the purpose of boldly

" declaring his religious sentiments, and protesting " that he would die a priest. At the very moment " when the work of destruction was going on in all " the churches against the altars, Grégoire erected " one in his own apartment, and said mass there " every day. This man's lot, however, is decidedly " cast. If he be driven from France, he must take " refuge in Saint-Domingo. The friend, the advo- " cate, the eulogist of the negroes will be a god, " or a saint among them."

Saint-Domingo naturally became the next subject of our conversation. I had, in my younger days, seen that colony in its most flourishing state. The Emperor put many questions to me, and made himself acquainted with all the circumstances relating to that remote period. When his enquiries were over, he said, " I shall, no doubt, astonish " you; but I am convinced, even from your own " statements, that the island has not, at this mo- " ment, lost a third, certainly not one half of its " value, and that, in a short time, it will recover all " its former prosperity."

I should not, in reality, be surprised at it; for all the absurd stories, circulated in Europe respecting France, ought to put us on our guard against those which might be safely told with regard to Saint-Domingo.

The Emperor said, that after the restoration, the French government had sent out emissaries and proposals, which were laughed at by the negroes.

"As to myself," he added, "on my return from "the isle of Elba, I would have settled all differences "with them; I would have recognized their inde- "pendence, contented myself with some factories, "like those on the coast of Africa, endeavoured to "draw them closer to the mother country, and es- "tablish a kind of family commerce with them, "which might, in my opinion, have been easily "accomplished."

"I have to reproach myself with the attempt "made upon the colony during the consulship. The "design of reducing it by force was a great error. "I ought to have been satisfied with governing it "through the medium of Toussaint. Peace with "England was not sufficiently consolidated, and the "territorial wealth I should have acquired by its re- "duction would have served but to enrich our ene- "mies." He had, he observed, the greater reason to reproach himself with the attempt, because he had foreseen its failure, and it was executed against his inclination. He had solely yielded to the opinion of the council of state and his ministers, hurried along, as they are, by the clamours of the colonists, who formed a considerable party at Paris, and were, besides, he said, either nearly all royalists, or in the pay of the English faction.

The Emperor assured us, that the army which had been sent out, consisted but of sixteen thousand men, and was quite sufficient. The failure of the expedition was solely to be attributed to accidental

circumstances, such as the yellow fever, the death of the Commander-in-chief, a new war, &c. &c.

"Toussaint," observed the Emperor, "was not "a man destitute of merit; but he certainly was not "so highly gifted as was attempted in his time to "describe him. His character, besides, was ill cal- "culated to inspire real confidence; he had given us "serious causes of complaint. It would have been "necessary to be always distrustful of his sincerity. "He was chiefly guided by an officer of engineers or "artillery. That officer had come to France before "Leclerc's expedition, and conferences were, for a "long time, held with him. He exerted himself "very much to prevent the attempt, and described "with great precision, all its difficulties, without "pretending, however, that it was impossible." The Emperor thought that the Bourbons might succeed in reducing Saint-Domingo by force; but on that subject the result of arms was not to be calculated upon; it was rather the result of commerce and of grand political views. Three or four hundred millions of capital swept away from France to a remote country; an indefinite period for reaping the fruits of such a sacrifice; the very great certainty of seeing them engrossed by the English, or swallowed up by revolutions, &c. &c.: those were the points for consideration. The Emperor concluded with saying, "The colonial system, "which we have witnessed, is closed for us, as well "as the whole continent of Europe; we must give

" it up, and henceforth confine ourselves to the free " navigation of the seas, and the complete liberty " of universal barter."

The history of the Convention, of which Napoleon had already expressed his disapprobation, again presented itself to his thoughts; he was far from being satisfied with Lacretelle. "Sentences in " abundance," he repeated, " and but little colour- " ing; no depth; he is an academician, but, in no " respect, an historian." He made me call my son, and dictated the two following notes, of which I give a literal copy, however imperfect they may be, for he never read them a second time.

NOTE I.

" The Convention, called together by a law of the Legislative Assembly to form a new constitution for France, decreed the Republic; not that the most enlightened did not think the republican system incompatible with the existing state of manners in France, but because the Monarchy could not be continued without placing the Duke of Orleans on the throne, which would have alienated a great part of the nation.

" An executive power, consisting of five ministers, was established by the Convention for conducting the affairs of the republic.

" Two parties contended for the ascendancy in the National Convention; that of the *Girondists,*

composed of men who had influenced the Legislative Assembly, and that of the *Mountain*, formed by the Commune of Paris, which had directed the atrocities of the 10th of August and the 2d of September, and commanded the population of the capital.

"Vergniaud, Brissot, Condorcet, Guadet, and Roland, were the leaders of the Girondists; Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes, headed the Mountain. These two parties were alike indebted for their rise to the principles of the revolution. Their conductors sprang out of the popular societies which they had successively rendered subservient to their views.

"The party of the Girondists was more powerful in talents, and was eminently popular in the great provincial towns, particular at Bourdeaux, Montpelier, Marseilles, Caen, Lyons, &c.

"The party of the Mountain possessed more energy and enthusiasm, and was no less popular in the capital and among the clubs of the departments.

"The Girondist party, which, in the Legislative Assembly, had been the most ardent for the Revolution, became, in the Convention, the most moderate; because it had to contend there with a faction much more violent than itself, which had not found its way into the assembly.

"The Girondists called their adversaries the faction of September, and constantly reproached them with the horrible massacre of which they were

guilty. They accused them of being hostile to every kind of national assembly, and of endeavouring to transfer the government of France to the Commune of Paris; but by these means the Girondists only excited against themselves the Jacobins of all the departments.

" On its side, the Commune of Paris (the Mountaineers) stigmatized the Girondists by the name of the federalists, and charged them with the design of establishing a federative system in France similar to that of Switzerland. They also accused them of endeavouring to stir up the provinces against the capital, and thus held them up to the detestation of the people of Paris, which could maintain its splendour only by the union and unity of the whole of the territory. When the Girondists inveighed against the Mountaineers for the massacres of the 2d of September, the latter reproached the former with having, during the Legislative Assembly, rashly and without cause, declared war against all Europe.

" The Girondists, at first, appeared to have the upper hand in the Convention, and they directed that Marat should be brought to trial, and that proceedings should be instituted against the assassins of September. But Marat, supported by the Jacobins and the Commune of Paris, was acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, and returned in triumph to the bosom of the assembly.

" The trial of the King had been another apple

of discord. The two parties seemed to proceed in unison, and voted, it is true, for his death; but the greater part of the Girondists also voted for an appeal to the people; and here it is difficult to comprehend the reason of their conduct during that crisis. If they wished to save the king, they were at liberty to do so; they had only to vote for deportation, exile, or the adjournment of the question; but to sentence him to death and make his fate depend upon the will of the people, was, in the highest degree, absurd and impolitic. They seemed to be desirous, that after the extinction of the monarchy, France should be torn to pieces by civil war.

"The general opinion since the commencement of the revolution, that the most audacious and unreasonable faction would always predominate, was from that moment verified. The Girondists, however, maintained the contest with courage, and very often had majorities in the assembly during all the months of March, April, and May. But the party of the Mountaineers had recourse, in these circumstances, to an expedient which it had constantly employed. On the 31st of May, the fate of the Girondists was decided by an insurrection of the sections of Paris. Twenty-seven were arrested, brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and senteneed to death; seventy-three were thrown into prison, and from that period the triumphant Mountain had no obstacles to

surmount in the Convention. Several Girondist deputies took refuge, however, at Caen, and there raised the standard of insurrection. Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and several towns of Brittany embraced the cause of this party, and also took up arms against the Convention.

"All these unconnected efforts were of no avail against the capital, and the Mountain remained in tranquil possession of the national tribune. A circumstance altogether singular contributed to confirm the preponderance of Paris. It was the assignats, then the only resource for supplying the treasury; not a single tax was then paid.

"The provinces learnt with considerable emotion the event of the 31st of May, and the death of the most celebrated characters of the Girondist party. The armies were not agitated by these results, they took no share in the insurrections of some provinces, and remained all attached to the Convention and the dominant party at Paris.

"When the partial insurrection of certain towns in favour of the Girondists was known, all the armies had already taken the oath and testified their adhesion to the Mountain; besides, in the eyes of Frenchmen, Paris was France. Neither did the departments of Alsace, la Moselle, la Flandre, la Franche Comté, and Dauphiné, where the principal forces of the republic are quartered, sympathize with the feelings of the federalist towns.

" The 31st of May deprived France of men of great talents, zealously attached to liberty and the principles of the revolution. The catastrophe might afflict the well disposed, but could not surprize them. It was impossible for an assembly, which had extricated France from the critical situation to which she was reduced, to carry on public business with two parties so inveterately and irreconcileably opposed. It was necessary for the safety of the republic, that one should extinguish the other, and there can be no doubt, that, had the Girondists obtained the victory, they would have consigned their adversaries to the scaffold."

The Emperor who had dictated, in his usual way, from memory alone without any research, whether he was little satisfied with the task he had executed, or for some other reason, stopped here for the purpose, as he said, of recommencing a new dictation on the same subject.

NOTE II.

" The Convention was established in September 1792, and terminated in October 1795. Its reign, which lasted nearly three years, presents four eras.

" The 1st, from its commencement to the 31st of May 1793—epoch of the destruction of the Girondists.

" The 2d, to March 1794—overthrow of the commune of Paris.

" The 3d, to July 1794—fall of Robespierre.

" The 4th to the 14th Vendémiaire (4th October 1795)—installation of the Government of the Directory.

" Its *first era* consisted of eight months, its second of ten, its third of four, its fourth of fourteen. Total, three years.

" During its first era the Convention was constantly divided between the parties of the Mountain and the Gironde.

" Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, Heraut de Sechelles, were the leaders of the party of the Mountain.

" Brissot, Condorcet, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonnè, Péthion, Lasource, Barbaroux, headed the party of the Gironde.

" The two parties were equally hostile to the Bourbons and the royalists.

" The men of the first were distinguished for superior energy, those of the second for superior talents. They were both the partisans of a republican establishment. The Mountaineers were desirous of a Republic for the purpose of destroying what was in existence before the Revolution, both men and things. The Girondists were animated by the infatuation of youthful feeling, which presented at once Athens and Rome to their view,

and brought back the remembrance of sublime antiquity.

" The existence of the Mountaineers may be dated from the time of the Constituent Assembly. They were the firebrands of the clubs so generally known by the name of Jacobin. The insurrection of the Field of Mars was planned by them.

" This party did not obtain admission into the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.

" The Girondists, who predominated in the legislative, were hostile to the constitution of 1794, and to the King. They would not undertake his defence, and suffered him to be sacrificed to the efforts of the Mountain, which, however, was also their enemy. It was the Mountaineers who caused the atrocities of the 20th of June, of the 10th of August, and of the 2d of September; they had then no party in the assembly; but they compelled the Girondists to join them after their victory.

" The *first era* of the Convention presents the struggle of the Girondists and Mountaineers; the Girondists prevailed at that time in consequence of their superior talents, eloquence and their already-acquired reputation. The presidents were nearly all Girondists; they charged the Mountain with the design of destroying the National Assembly, and substituting in its place a Parisian Dictatorship. They also reproached it with the massacre of September, &c. &c.

" The Mountain, in its turn, charged them with

wishing for a federative republic like Switzerland, with being hostile to the capital, and with having, without cause, placed the republic in a state of warfare with the whole of Europe.

" The Mountain had at its command the Jacobins of Paris and the greatest part of the popular societies of the republic; the commune of Paris, the sections, the revolutionary tribunal, and the lower classes of the people of the capital were devoted to its interests.

" The Girondists possessed great influence over the departments in general, and the enlightened part of the nation; their partisans were more numerous among the upper class of society. The Girondists who had occupied the left side in the Legislative Assembly, and had shewn such animosity against the King, the ministers and the right side, or moderate party, were forced to shift places, and become in their turn the right side or moderate party, opposed to the vehement and overbearing Mountain, which henceforth formed the left side.

" The Mountaineers, working on the plan they had adopted under the Constituent Assembly, enlisted all the passions in their service, and demanded, with loud cries, the death of the King. The Girondists might, by openly defending him, have preserved his life; they had recourse to the singular system of condemning him, and after having thus destroyed the monarchy, they wished

the sentence to be confirmed by an appeal to the people; in other words, they wished to destroy France by the horrors of a civil war. This false combination of views opened their ruin—Vergniaud, one of the pillars of their party, pronounced sentence of death upon the King.

"The Girondists were so powerful in the assembly, that several months of labour and several days of insurrection were necessary to destroy their influence in the Convention.

"This party would have governed the Convention and crushed the Mountain, had its system of conduct been more direct and candid. The metaphysicians had too weighty a preponderance in it.

"The *second era* of the Convention is the reign of the Mountain. Twenty-two of the principal Girondists perished on the scaffold, or fell by their own hands; seventy-three were thrown into prison. The Mountain ruled with absolute power; it created the revolutionary government, and the Convention in a mass placed itself, of its own accord, under the yoke of the Committee of Public Safety and of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

"In this second era, the sittings of the Convention no longer resembled those of the first; there was an end of discussion and of liberty; it was the despotism of the Decemvirs. Some of the Deputies governed the Committees of General Security, of Finance, &c. Others were dispatched by the

Committee of Public Safety to the Armies and the Departments, and became real pro-consuls.

" Every month, every week, every day, the government became more ferocious and sanguinary. All those in the higher classes of society who had not emigrated, were heaped together in prison as objects of suspicion, and sent by hundreds to the scaffold.

" After treating in this way every one who was of a noble family, a priest, a merchant, or a considerable proprietor, the excesses of the party recoiling upon itself, it ruled the Jacobins and the Commune of Paris with an iron hand; it enslaved the Convention, and threatened it with absolute annihilation; it preached up Atheism, and proscribed the arts, the sciences, and every species of talent. The artists and men of science were thrown into prison as objects of suspicion, and there was a time when the National Library and the Garden of Plants were on the point of being burnt and laid waste.

" Robespierre and Danton, struck with indignation at these outrages, united their efforts to put a stop to the frightful progress of popular madness. The capuchin Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Hebert, Chaumet, Vincent, and all their associates, perished on the scaffold.

" For the first time since the commencement of the Revolution, the people saw persons put to

death as ultra-revolutionary, and no longer as having wished to stop the Revolution. Their ideas were turned up-side down, and underwent a real revolution.

"The prisons were filled with Sans-culottes, and with all that was basest in society. It was remarked, that the apostate priests were numerous in that class.

"The people beheld, without surprise and with joy, the punishment of those who had until then governed them, and that feeling was a revolution, which escaped the observation of Robespierre and Danton, and which they knew not how to convert to their advantage.

"The *third era* presents a spectacle different from the other two. Danton and Robespierre easily stopped the Revolution, and put a period to the power of the Commune of Paris; but after their success they fell out between themselves.

"Danton, Camille des Moulins, Heraut de Sechelles, and Lacroix, were desirous of going a step farther, and putting an end to the assassinations of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Danton and Lacroix had enriched themselves in their mission to Belgium. Camille des Moulins, who, from the beginning of the Revolution had given himself the title of the Attorney-General of the Lanterne, was captivated and softened down by a young wife. They had the boldness to demand, that the blow which had been just struck against Hebert, or the rest of

Marat's party should be turned to the benefit of the whole Republic—that no innocent person should in future be condemned—that the system of terror should be abolished—and that a Committee of Clemency should be established.

" Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who took the lead in the Committee of Public Safety and among the great body of Jacobins, rejected these demands with indignation and fury; and Robespierre, after some hesitation, did not dare to second Danton, and made a sacrifice of him. Danton, Camille des Moulins, Heraut de Sechelles, &c. perished on the scaffold, to which they were dragged by the whole Committee of Public Safety, and by the enraged Jacobins. The people were struck with consternation, and for the first time expressed no sign of satisfaction.

" What Robespierre, however, had not dared to do, and what he could have easily effected had he supported Danton, he had the presumption to undertake after the death of Danton. In order to put a period to Atheism, he caused the existence of God to be proclaimed, and he endeavoured to reinstate the virtues, the sciences and arts. Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, were struck with horror at seeing the termination of the revolutionary government. They formed a coalition with all the representatives, who, in their missions, had caused the effusion of human blood, and with all the numerous friends whom

Danton had in the Convention, such as Tallien, Fréron, Legendre; and when Robespierre was bold enough to give a glimpse of his plan for suppressing the administration of the pro-consuls, and for the necessity of bringing to justice the base characters, who had rendered the Revolution odious in the provinces, he was consigned to the scaffold.

"The transactions of the 9th Thermidor constituted, in reality, the triumph of Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, men more horrible and blood thirsty than Robespierre; but that victory could not be obtained over the Jacobins and the commune, but by calling into action the whole of the citizens; so that, with respect to the middling classes and the people, the death of Robespierre was the death of the revolutionary government; and after various oscillations, those who wished to continue the system of terror and had sacrificed Robespierre, as he had sacrificed Danton, because he was desirous of softening down and moderating the revolution, found themselves drawn along with, and governed by, the public opinion.

"During the last ten months, Robespierre frequently complained that he was rendered odious by having all the massacres, which were perpetrated, attributed to him. The men who caused his destruction were more sanguinary and dreadful than he, but the whole nation, which had

for a long time imputed all the assassinations to Robespierre, exclaimed that it was a triumph over tyranny, and that belief put an end to it."

N. B. Here the dictation ended; the Emperor joined in common conversation, and as he never resumed it, we are deprived of the fourth era.

The Moniteur and liberty of the press.

June 13th.—The Emperor had just run over a great many numbers of the Moniteur. "These "Moniteurs," said he, "so terrible and dangerous "to so many reputations are uniformly useful and "favourable to me alone. It is with official docu- "ments that men of sense and real talents will "write history; now, these documents are full of "the spirit of my government, and to them I make "an earnest and solemn appeal." He added, that he had made the Moniteur the soul and life-blood of his government, and that it was the intermediate instrument of his communications with public opinion, both abroad and at home. Every government had since followed his example more or less in that respect. "Whatever serious fault "might be committed by any of the high function- "aries employed in the interior, immediately," said the Emperor, "an enquiry was set on foot by three "Counsellors of State. They made their report to "me, in which they ascertained the facts and dis- "cussed the principles. For my own part I had

" nothing more to do than to write at the bottom " —' *Dispatched for execution according to the* " *laws of the republic, or of the empire.*' My in- " terference was at an end, the public result ac- " complished, and popular opinion did justice to " the transaction. It was the most formidable and " dreadful of my tribunals. Did any question arise " abroad respecting certain grand political com- " binations or some delicate points of diplomacy? " The objects were indirectly hinted at in the Mo- " niteur. They instantly attracted universal atten- " tion and became the topics of general investi- " gation. This conduct was at once the orderly " signal for the adherents of the throne, and an " appeal for all parties to public opinion. The Mo- " niteur has been reproached for the acrimony and " virulence of its notes against the enemy. But " before we condemn them, we are bound to take " into consideration the benefits they may have " produced, the anxiety with which they occasion- " ally perplexed the enemy, the terror with which " they struck a hesitating cabinet, the stimulus " which they gave to our allies, the confidence and " audacity with which they inspired our troops," &c.

The conversation next turned upon the liberty of the press, and the Emperor asked our opinions. We talked for a long time very idly on the subject, and threw out a great number of commonplace ideas. Some were hostile to it. " Nothing,"

said they, " can resist the liberty of the press. It " is capable of overthrowing every government, of " agitating every society, of destroying every repu- " tation." " It is only," observed others, " its pro- " hibition that is dangerous. If it be restricted, it " becomes a mine that must explode, but if left to " itself it is merely an unbent bow, that can inflict " no wound." Here the Emperor observed, that he was far from being convinced with regard to that point, but that it was no longer the question for consideration; that there were institutions at present, and the liberty of the press was among the number, on the excellence of which we were no longer called upon to decide, but solely to determine the possibility of withholding them from the overbearing influence of popular opinion. He declared, that the prohibition under a representative government was a gross anachronism, a downright absurdity. He had, therefore, on his return from the isle of Elba, abandoned the press to all its excesses, and he was well assured, that they had, in no respect, contributed to his recent downfall. When it was proposed in council, in his presence, to discuss the means of sheltering the authority of the State from its attacks, he pleasantly remarked, " Gentlemen, it is probably " yourselves you wish to protect, for, with respect " to me, I shall henceforth continue a stranger to " all such proceedings. The press has exhausted " itself upon me during my absence, and I now

" heartily defy it to produce any thing new or pro-
" voking against me."

The War, and Royal Family of Spain.—Ferdinand at Valencey.—Errors in the Affairs of Spain.—Historical Sketch of these events, &c.—Napoleon's admirable Letter to Murat.

June 14.—The Emperor had been ill the whole of the night, and continued so during the day; he had a bath for his feet, and was not inclined to go out; he dined alone in his apartment and sent for me towards the evening.

The Emperor began the conversation, of which the constant subject was the Spanish war. It has been seen in the notice, which I have already taken of it, that the Emperor took upon himself the whole blame* of the measure. I wish to avoid repetitions as much as possible, and shall, therefore, allude to those topics only which appeared new to me.

" The old King and Queen," said the Emperor, " at the moment of the event, were the objects " of the hatred and contempt of their subjects. " The Prince of Asturias conspired against them, " forced them to abdicate, and at once united in " his own person the love and hopes of the nation. " That nation was, however, ripe for great changes " and demanded them with energy. I enjoyed vast " popularity in the country, and it was in that state " of things that all these personages met at Bay-

* See the third part.

" onne; the old king calling upon me for ven-
" geance against his son, and the young prince soli-
" citing my protection against his father, and im-
" ploring a wife at my hands. I resolved to convert
" this singular occasion to my advantage, with the
" view of freeing myself from that branch of the
" Bourbons, of continuing in my own dynasty the
" family system of Louis XIV. and of binding
" Spain to the destinies of France. Ferdinand was
" sent to Valencey, the old king to Marseilles, as
" he wished, and my brother Joseph went to reign
" at Madrid with a liberal constitution, adopted by
" a junta of the Spanish nation, which had come
" to receive it at Bayonne."

" It seems to me," continued he, " that Europe,
" and even France, has never had a just idea of
" Ferdinand's situation at Valencey. There is a
" strange misunderstanding in the world with re-
" spect to the treatment he experienced, and still
" more so, with respect to his wishes and personal
" opinions as to that situation. The fact is, that
" he was scarcely guarded at Valencey, and that
" he did not wish to escape. If any plots were
" contrived to favour his evasion, he was the first
" to make them known. An Irishman, (Baron de
" Colli) gained access to his person, and offered,
" in the name of George the Third to carry him
" off; but Ferdinand, far from embracing the offer,
" instantly communicated it to the proper authority.

" His applications to me for a wife at my hands

" were incessant, He spontaneously wrote to me " letters of congratulation upon every event that " occurred in my favour. He had addressed pro- " clamations to the Spaniards, recommending their " submission; he had recognised Joseph. All these " were circumstances, which might, indeed, have " been considered as forced upon him; but he re- " quested from him the insignia of his grand " order; he tendered to me the services of his " brother, Don Carlos, to take the command of " the Spanish regiments, which were marching to " Russia,—proceedings to which he was, in no re- " spect, obliged. To sum up all, he earnestly soli- " cited my permission to visit my court at Paris, " and if I did not lend myself to a spectacle, " which would have astonished Europe, by display- " ing the full consolidation of my power, it was " because the important circumstances which " called me abroad, and my frequent absence from " the capital, deprived me of the proper oppor- " tunity."

Towards the beginning of a new year, at one of the levees, I happened to be next to the Chamberlain, Count d'Arberg, who had been doing duty at Valencey, near the persons of the princes of Spain. When the Emperor approached, he enquired if these princes conducted themselves with propriety, and added; " You have brought me " a very pretty letter; but between ourselves, it " was you that wrote it for them." D'Arberg

assured him, that he was altogether unacquainted even with the nature of its contents. "Well," said the Emperor, "a son could not write more "cordially to his father."

"When our situation in Spain," observed the Emperor, "turned out dangerous, I more than "once proposed to Ferdinand to return and reign "over his people; that we should openly carry on "war against each other, and that the contest "should be decided by the fate of arms." "No," "answered the prince, who seems to have been "well advised, and never deviated from that way "of thinking. "My country is agitated by poli- "tical disturbances; I should but multiply its em- "barrassments: I might become their victim, and "lose my head upon the scaffold. I remain; but "if you will choose a wife for me; if you will "grant me your protection and the support of your "arms, I shall set out and prove a faithful ally."

"At a later period, during our disasters, and "towards the end of 1813, I yielded to that pro- "posal, and Ferdinand's marriage with Joseph's "eldest daughter was decided; but circumstances "were then no longer the same, and Ferdinand "was desirous that the marriage should be de- "ferred. "You can no longer," he observed, "support me with your arms, and I ought not to "make my wife a title of exclusion in the eyes of "my people." "He left me," continued the Em- peror, "as it seemed, with every intention of

" good faith, for he remained faithful to the prin-
" ciples which he avowed on his departure, until
" the events of Fontainebleau."

The Emperor assured us, that, had the affairs of 1814 turned out differently, he would unquestionably have accomplished his marriage with Joseph's daughter.

The Emperor, in reverting to these affairs, said, that the impolicy of his conduct was irrevocably decided by the results; but that independently of that kind of proof, depending upon consequences, he had to reproach himself with serious faults in the execution of his plans. One of the greatest was that of treating the dethronement of the dynasty of the Bourbons as a matter of importance, and of maintaining, as the basis of his system, for its successor, was precisely the man, who, by his qualities and character, was certain to produce its failure.

During the assembly at Bayonne, Ferdinand's former preceptor and his principal counsellor, (Escoiquiz) at once perceiving the vast projects entertained by the Emperor, and pleading the cause of his master, said to him: " You wish to create for
" yourself a kind of Herculean labour, when you
" have but child's play in hand. You wish to rid
' yourselves of the Bourbons of Spain; why should
" you be apprehensive of them? They have ceased
" to exist; they are no longer French. You have
" nothing to fear from them; they are altogether
" aliens with respect to your nation and your man-

" ners. You have here Madame de Montmorency,
" and some new ladies of your court; they are not
" more acquainted with the one than with the other,
" and view them all with equal indifference." The Emperor unfortunately formed a different resolution. I took the liberty of telling him, I had been assured by some Spaniards, that, if the national pride had been respected, and the Spanish junta held at Madrid instead of Bayonne, or even, if Charles IV. had been sent off and Ferdinand retained, the revolution would have been popular, and affairs would have taken another turn. The Emperor entertained no doubt of it, and agreed that the enterprize had been imprudently undertaken, and that many circumstances might have been better conducted. " Charles IV." said he, "was, however, too stale for
" the Spaniards. Ferdinand should have been con-
" sidered in the same light. The plan most worthy
" of me, and the best suited to my project, would
" have been a kind of mediation like that of Swit-
" zerland. I ought to have given a liberal consti-
" tution to the Spanish nation, and charged Ferdi-
" nand with its execution. If he acted with good
" faith, Spain must have prospered and harmonized
" with our new manners. The great object would
" have been obtained, and France would have
" acquired an intimate ally and an addition of power
" truly formidable. Had Ferdinand, on the con-
" trary, proved faithless to his new engagements,
" the Spaniards themselves would not have failed

" to dismiss him, and would have applied to me " for a ruler in his place. At all events," concluded the Emperor, " that unfortunate war of Spain was " a real affliction, and the first cause of the calami- " ties of France. After my conferences at Erfurth " with Alexander, England ought to have been " compelled to make peace by the force of arms, " or of reason. She had lost the esteem of the " continent; her attack upon Copenhagen had dis- " gusted the public mind, while I distinguished " myself at that moment by every contrary advan- " tage, when that disastrous affair of Spain pre- " sented itself to effect a sudden change against " me and reinstate England in the public estima- " tion. She was enabled, from that moment, to " continue the war; the trade with South America " was thrown open to her; she formed an army " for herself in the peninsula, and next became " the victorious agent, the main point of all the " plots which were hatched on the continent, &c. " &c.—All this effected my ruin.

" I was then assailed with imputations, for which, " however, I had given no cause. History will do " me justice. I was charged in that affair with per- " fidy, with laying snares, and with bad faith, and " yet I was completely innocent. Never, whatever " may have been said to the contrary, have I bro- " ken any engagement, or violated my promise, " either with regard to Spain or any other power.

" The world will one day be convinced, that in

" the principal transactions relative to Spain I was
" completely a stranger to all the domestic in-
" trigues of its court; that I broke no promise
" made either to Charles IV. or to Ferdinand VII.;
" that I violated no engagement with the father
" or the son; that I made use of no falsehoods to
" entice them both to Bayonne, but that they both
" strove which should be the first to shew himself
" there. When I saw them at my feet and was en-
" abled to form a correct opinion of their total in-
" capacity, I beheld with compassion the fate of a
" great people; I eagerly seized the singular op-
" portunity, held out to me by fortune, for regene-
" rating Spain, rescuing her from the yoke of Eng-
" land, and intimately uniting her with our system.
" It was, in my conception, laying the fundamental
" basis of the tranquillity and security of Europe.
" But I was far from employing for that purpose,
" as it has been reported, any base and paltry stra-
" tagems. If I erred, it was, on the contrary, by
" daring openness and extraordinary energy. Ba-
" yonne was not the scene of premeditated ambush,
" but of a vast master-stroke of state policy. I could
" have preserved myself from these imputations
" by a little hypocrisy, or by giving up the Prince
" of the Peace to the fury of the people; but the
" idea appeared horrible to me, and struck me as
" if I was to receive the price of blood. Besides,
" it must also be acknowledged that Murat did me
" a great deal of mischief in the whole affair.

" Be that as it may, I disdained having recourse " to crooked and common-place expedients—I " found myself so powerful!—I dared to strike " from a situation too exalted. I wished to act " like Providence, which, of its own accord, applies " remedies to the wretchedness of mankind, by " means occasionally violent, but for which it is " unaccountable to human judgment.

" I candidly confess, however, that I engaged " very inconsiderately in the whole of the affair, its " immorality must have shewn itself too openly, " its injustice too glaringly, and the transactions, " taken altogether, present a disgusting aspect, " more particularly since my failure; for the out- " rage is no longer seen but in its hideous naked- " ness, stripped of all loftiness in idea, and of " the numerous benefits which it was my intention " to confer. Posterity, however, would have ex- " tolled it had I succeeded, and perhaps with rea- " son, on account of its vast and happy results. " Such is our lot, and such our judgment in this " world!...But I once more declare, that, in no " instance, was there any breach of faith, any per- " fidy or falsehood, and, what is more, there was " no occasion for them." Here the Emperor resumed, in its totality and principle, the historical sketch of the affair respecting Spain, repeating many things which have been already noticed.

" The court and the reigning family," said the Emperor, " were split into two parties. The one

" was that of the monarch, blindly governed by his
" favourite, the Prince of the Peace, who had con-
" stituted himself the real king; the other was that
" of the heir presumptive, headed by his preceptor,
" Escoiquiz, who aspired to the government. These
" two parties were equally desirous of my support,
" and made me the most flattering promises. I
" was, no doubt, determined to derive every pos-
" sible advantage from their situation.

" The favourite, in order to continue in office,
" as well as to shelter himself from the vengeance
" of the son, in case of the father's death, offered
" me, in the name of Charles IV. to effect, in concert,
" the conquest of Portugal, reserving as an asylum
" for himself, the sovereignty of Algarva.

" On the other hand, the prince of the Asturias,
" wrote to me privately, without his father's know-
" ledge, soliciting a wife of my choice, and implor-
" ing my protection.

" I concluded an agreement with the former,
" and returned no answer to the latter. My troops
" were already admitted into the Peninsula, when
" the son took advantage of a commotion to make
" his father abdicate, and to reign in his place.

" It has been foolishly imputed to me, that I took
" part in all these intrigues, but so far was I from
" having any knowledge of them, that the last event
" in particular, disconcerted all my projects with
" the father, in consequence of which, my troops
" were already in the heart of Spain. The two par-

" ties were aware, from that moment, that I might,
" and ought to be the arbiter between them. The
" dethroned monarch, and the son, had recourse to
" me, the one for the purpose of obtaining ven-
" geance, and the other, for the purpose of being
" recognized. They both hastened to plead their
" cause before me, and they were urged on by
" their respective counsellors, those very persons
" who absolutely governed them, and who saw no
" means of preserving their own lives, but by
" throwing themselves into my arms.

" The prince of the Peace, who had been very
" nearly massacred, easily persuaded Charles IV.
" and his queen, to undertake the journey, as they
" had themselves, been in danger of falling victims
" to the fury of the multitude.

" On his part, the preceptor Escoiquiz, the real
" author of all the calamities of Spain, alarmed at
" seeing Charles IV. protest against his abdication,
" and in dread of the scaffold, unless his pupil tri-
" umphed, exerted every means to influence the
" young King. This Canon, who had besides a very
" high opinion of his own talents, did not despair of
" making an impression on my decisions, by his ar-
" guments, and of inducing me to acknowledge Fer-
" dinand, making me a tender, on his own account,
" of his services to govern, altogether under my con-
" troul, as effectually as the Prince of the peace could,
" under the name of Charles IV. And it must be
" owned," said the Emperor, " that, had I listened to

" several of his reasons, and adopted some of his " ideas, I should have been much better off."

" When I had them all assembled at Bayonne, I " felt a confidence in my political system, to which " I never before had the presumption to aspire. I " had not made my combinations, but I took advan- " tage of the moment. I here found the Gordian " knot before me, and I cut it. I proposed to Charles " IV. and the Queen, to resign the crown of Spain to " me, and to live quietly in France. They agreed, I " could say, almost with joy, to the proposal, so in- " veterately were they exasperated against their " son, and so earnestly did they and their favourite " wish to enjoy for the future, tranquillity and " safety. The Prince of Asturias, made no ex- " traordinary resistance to the plan, but neither vio- " lence nor threats were employed against him; " and if he was influenced by fear, which I am very " willing to believe, that could only be his concern.

" There you have in very few words, the complete " historical sketch of the affair of Spain; whatever " may be said, or written on it, must amount to " that; and you see, that there could be no occasion " for me to have had recourse to paltry tricks, to " falsehoods, to breaches of faith, or violation of en- " gagements. In order to establish my guilt, it " would have been necessary to shew my inclina- " tion to degrade myself gratuitously; but of that " propensity I have never given an instance.

" As to the rest, the instant my decision was

" known, the crowd of intriguers that swarm in " every court, and even those among them who " had been the most active in producing the mis- " fortunes of their country, endeavoured to get into " favour with Joseph, as they had done with Charles " IV. and Ferdinand VII. They watched, with ex- " traordinary diligence, the progress of events, and " changed sides at a later period, in proportion as " difficulties encreased, and our disasters came on. " They pursued the plan so successfully, that they " are the persons, who, at this moment, govern " Ferdinand. And, what is truly horrible, the bet- " ter to secure their influence, they did not hesi- " tate to impute whatever was odious and criminal " in past calamities, to the mass of *simpletons*, " whom they proscribed and banished;—of those " men naturally well-disposed, and who, in prin- " ciple, decidedly blamed Ferdinand's journey. Of " this latter class, several, who opposed the jour- " ney, afterwards took the oath of allegiance to " Joseph, who seemed then to be identified with " the happiness and tranquillity of their country, " and continued faithful to him, until the grand " catastrophe that drove him from the throne.

" It would be difficult to accumulate a greater " mass of impudence and baseness, than that exhi- " bited by all those intriguers, the principal perfor- " mers in that grand scene. It extenuates, one " may fairly remark, the degradation to which " similar acts of vileness have reduced France, in the

" eyes of Europe. It is evident, that they do not be-
" long to her exclusively. Intriguing, ambitious,
" rapacious men, are every where to be found, and
" are every where the same. Individuals alone are
" guilty; nations cannot incur the responsibility.
" Their only disadvantage arises from their being
" forced to witness these misdeeds. Unhappy the
" country, which becomes the scene of them!"

N. B. At present, the affair of Spain is perfectly known, thanks to the writings of the principal actors, the canon Escoiquiz, the minister Cevallos, and others, but above all, to those of the worthy and respectable M. Llorente, who, under the anagrammatic signature of Nellerto, has published the Memoirs of that time, sanctioned by all the official documents. The opposite contradictions of the two first, their mutual disputes, the assertions and denials of their contemporaries, have reduced their writings to their real value, by stripping them of whatever was erroneous, false, or even fabricated. The result is, that, in the opinion of every cool and impartial judge, they all concur, even involuntarily, in confirming the justificatory assertions advanced by Napoleon; not, that they do not produce that difference which inevitably arises from the diversity of party-interest, but solely because neither of them actually establishes the grounds of positive crimination, nor furnishes any official document by which it can be proved, while all those, which exist, attest and sanction the contrary.

It may also be remarked in the history of those transactions, which must now be considered as genuine, that England herself was altogether a stranger to them, at least with respect to their origin, a fact which was far from Napoleon's way of thinking, who, charged the English at the time, with being the first cause of all the intrigues, and who still persevered in the accusation at St. Helena; so habituated was he to discover them at the bottom of every plot, which was forming against him.

With respect to this affair of Spain, I have further to notice a letter from the Emperor, which throws more light upon the subject than volumes. It is admirable, and the events which followed stamp it as a masterpiece. It exhibits the rapidity, the eagle-eyed view, with which Napoleon formed his opinion of things and men.

Unfortunately it also shews, how much the execution of the inferiors employed during the greater part of the time, destroyed the finest and most exalted conceptions; and in that point of view this letter remains a very precious document for history. It becomes prophetic by its date :—

" 29th March, 1808.

" Monsieur le grand duc de Berg—I am afraid, lest you should deceive me with respect to the situation of Spain, and lest you should also deceive yourself. Events have been singularly complicated by the transaction of the 20th of March. I find myself very much perplexed.

" *Do not believe that you are about to attack a disarmed nation, and that you can by a mere parade of your troops, effect the subjugation of Spain.* The revolution of the 20th of March proves, that the Spaniards possess energy. You have to contend with a new people; it has all the courage, and will display all the enthusiasm shewn by men, who are not worn out by political passions.

" The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain. If their privileges and existence be threatened, they will bring into the field against us levies en masse, that may perpetuate the war. I am not without my partisans; but if I shew myself as a conqueror, they will abandon me.

" The Prince of the Peace is detested, because he is accused of having betrayed Spain to France. This is the grievance which has assisted Ferdinand's usurpation. The popular is the weakest party.

" The Prince of Asturias does not possess a single quality requisite for the head of a nation. That will not prevent his being ranked as a hero, in order that he may be opposed to us. I will have no violence employed against the personages of this family. It can never answer any purpose to excite hatred and inflame animosity. Spain has a hundred thousand men under arms, more than are necessary to carry on an internal war with advantage. Scattered over several parts of the country, they may serve as rallying points for a total insurrection of the monarchy.

"I lay before you all the obstacles which must inevitably happen. There are others of which you must be aware. England will not allow the opportunity to escape her without multiplying our embarrassments. She daily sends packet-boats to the forces, which she maintains on the coasts of Portugal and in the Mediterranean; and she enlists into her service Sicilians and Portuguese.

"The Royal Family not having left Spain for the purpose of establishing itself in its American colonies, the state of the country can be changed only by a revolution. It is, perhaps, of all others in Europe, that which is the least prepared for one. Those who witness the monstrous defects of that government, and the anarchy which has been substituted for the legitimate authority, are the fewest in number. Those defects and that anarchy are converted to their own advantage by the greatest number.

"I can, consistently with the interests of my empire, do a great deal of good to Spain. What are the best means to be adopted?

"Shall I go to Madrid? Shall I take upon myself the office of Grand Protector in deciding between the father and the son? It seems to me a matter of difficulty to support Charles IV. on the throne. His government and his favourite are so very unpopular, that they could not maintain themselves for three months.

"Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and to that consideration he has been indebted for the crown. His elevation to the throne would be favourable to the factions, which for five and twenty years have longed for the destruction of France. A family alliance would be but a slender tie. *Queen Elizabeth* and other French princesses perished miserably whenever they could be immolated, with impunity, to the atrocious spirit of vengeance. My opinion is, that nothing should be hurried on, and that our measures ought to be regulated by events as they occur. It will be necessary to strengthen the bodies of troops, which are to be stationed on the frontiers of Portugal, and wait .....

"I do not approve of your Imperial Highness's conduct in so precipitately making yourself master of Madrid. The army ought to have been kept ten leagues from the capital. You had no assurance that the people and the magistracy were about to recognise Ferdinand, without a struggle. The Prince of the Peace must, of course, have partisans among those employed in the public service; there is also an habitual attachment to the old King, which might lead to unpleasant consequences. Your entrance into Madrid, by alarming the Spaniards, has powerfully assisted Ferdinand. I have ordered Savary to attend the new King, and observe what passes. He will concert matters with your Imperial Highness. I shall hereafter

decide upon the measures necessary to be pursued. In the mean time, I think it proper to prescribe the following line of conduct to you:

"You will not pledge me to an interview, *in Spain*, with Ferdinand, unless you consider the state of things to be such, that I ought to recognise him King of Spain. You will behave with attention and respect to the King, the Queen, and Prince Godoy. You will require for them, and pay them the same honours as formerly. You will manage matters so as to prevent the Spaniards from entertaining any suspicions of the course I shall pursue. You will find no difficulty in this, as I know nothing about it myself.

"You will make the nobility and clergy understand, that if the interference of France be requisite in the affairs of Spain, their privileges and immunities shall be respected. You will assure them, that the Emperor wishes for the improvement of the political institutions of Spain, in order to place her in a relative state to that of civilised Europe, and to free her from the administration of favouritism. . . . . You will tell the magistrates and the inhabitants of the towns and the enlightened classes, that Spain stands in need of having the machine of her government re-organised, of a system of laws calculated for the protection of the people against the tyranny and usurpations of feudality, and of establishments which may revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will

describe to them the state of tranquillity and ease enjoyed by France, notwithstanding the wars in which she has been constantly involved, and the splendor of religion, which owes its existence to the Concordat I have signed with the Pope. You will explain to them the advantages they may derive from political regeneration; order and peace at home, respect and influence abroad. Such should be the spirit of your conversation and your writings. Do not hazard any thing hastily. I can wait at Bayonne, I can cross the Pyrenees, and strengthening myself towards Portugal, I can go and carry on the war in that quarter.

" I shall take care of your particular interests, do not think of them yourself. Portugal will be at my disposal . . . Let no powerful object engage you and influence your conduct; that would be injurious to me, and would be still more hurtful to yourself.

" You are too hasty in your instructions of the 14th.; the march you order General Dupont to take is too rapid, on account of the event of the 19th of March. They must be altered; you will make new arrangements; you will receive instructions from my Minister for Foreign Affairs.

" I enjoin the strictest maintenance of discipline; the slightest faults must not go unpunished. The inhabitants must be treated with the greatest attention. Above all, the churches and convents must be respected.

" The army must avoid all misunderstanding with the bodies and detachments of the Spanish army; a single flash in the pan must not take place on either side.

" Let Solano march beyond Badajos, but watch his movements. Do you yourself trace out the marches of my army, that it may be always kept at a distance of several leagues from the Spanish corps. Should hostilities take place, all would be lost.

" The fate of Spain can alone be decided by political views and by negociation. I charge you to avoid all explanation with Solano, as well as with the other Spanish generals and governors. You will send me two expresses daily. In case of events of superior interest, you will despatch officers of ordonnance. You will immediately send back the Chamberlain de T...., the bearer of this despatch, and give him a detailed report.

I pray God, M. le grand Duc de Berg, &c. &c.

(Signed) NAPOLEON."

June 15th.—The weather was superb; we took an airing in our calash, and observed very near the shore a large vessel, which seemed to manœuvre in a singular manner. We took it by its appearance for the Newcastle, which had been for some time expected to relieve the Northumberland; but it was only one of the Company's ships.

During part of the day, the Emperor, after run-

ning over a great number of topics, came at length to mention several persons, who, were they at liberty, he said, would join him at St. Helena, and he undertook to explain the motives by which they might be influenced. From this subject, he was led to touch upon the motives of those who were about him. "*Bertrand*," said he, "is hence-"forth identified with my fate. It is an historical "fact. *Gourgaud* was my first officer of ordonnance, "he is my own work, he is my child. *Montholon* is "Semonville's son, a brother-in-law to Joubert, a "child of the revolution and of camps. But you, my "good friend," said he to the fourth, "you," and after a moment's thought, he resumed; "you, my "good friend, let us know by what extraordinary "chance you find yourself here?" The answer was, "Sire, by the influence of my happy stars, "and for the honour of the emigrants."

Articles sent from England.—The Emperor's determination to prohibit the use of cotton in France.—The Conferences of Tilsit.—The Queen of Prussia.—The King.—The Emperor Alexander.—Anecdotes, &c.

June 16th.—The weather was completely fine; the Emperor entered my apartment about ten o'clock. I was employed in dressing myself, and also in dictating my journal to my son. The Emperor cast his eye over it for a few instants, and said nothing; he left it to look at some draw-

ings. They were topographical sketches, executed with the pen, of some of the fields of battle in Italy. They were planned by my son, and we felt pleasure in reserving them as an agreeable surprise for the Emperor. We had, until then, been employed upon them in secret.

I followed the Emperor to the garden; he talked a great deal on the articles that had been just sent to us from England, and which chiefly consisted of furniture. He exposed the ill-grace and awkardness of those who had been employed to deliver them to us. He observed, that in presenting even what would have been most agreeable to us, they found the means of hurting our feelings. He was, on that account, determined not to make use of them, and he declined accepting two fowling-pieces, which were particularly intended for him. The Emperor breakfasted in the open air, and we were all invited to his table.

The conversation turning on fashions and dress, the Emperor said, that at one period, he had resolved to prohibit the use of cotton in France, for the more effectual encouragement of the lawn and cambric trade of our towns in Flanders. The Empress Josephine was shocked at the idea, which she decidedly opposed, and it was given up.

The Emperor was in a happy humour for conversation, and the weather was very mild, and tolerably pleasant. He began walking in the kind of alley which is perpendicular to the front of the

house. The conversation turned on the celebrated epoch of Tilsit, and the following are the interesting particulars which I collected.

The Emperor remarked, that, had the Queen o Prussia arrived at the commencement of the negociations, she might have exercised considerable influence with respect to the result. Happily she arrived, when they were sufficiently advanced to enable the Emperor to decide upon their conclusion four and twenty hours afterwards. The King, it was thought, had prevented her early appearance, in consequence of a rising jealousy against a great personage, which was confidently stated, said the Emperor, " not to have been destitute of some " slight ground."

The moment of her arrival the Emperor paid her a visit. " The Queen of Prussia," said he, " had been very beautiful, but she was beginning " to lose some of the charms of her youth."

The Emperor declared, that the Queen received him like Mademoiselle Duchénois in the character of Chimene, thrown back into a grand attitude, demanding, calling aloud for *justice.* In one word, it was altogether a theatrical scene ; the representation was truly tragic. He was unable to speak for an instant, and thought the only way of extricating himself was that of bringing back the business to the tone of regular comedy, which he attempted by presenting her with a chair, and gently forcing her to be seated. She did not,

however, discontinue the most pathetic expressions. " Prussia," she exclaimed, " had been " blindfolded with respect to her power ;—she " had dared to contend with a hero, to oppose " herself to the destinies of France, to neglect " his auspicious friendship; she was deservedly " punished for it. The glory of the great Frederic, " his memory, and his inheritance had puffed up " the pride of Prussia, and had caused her ruin ! " &c. &c." She solicited, supplicated, implored. Magdeburg, in particular, was the object of her efforts and wishes. The Emperor kept his ground as well as he could. Fortunately, the husband made his appearance. The Queen reproved, with an expressive look, the unseasonable interruption, and shewed some pettishness. In fact, the King attempted to take part in the conversation, spoiled the whole affair, and " I was," said the Emperor, " set at liberty."

The Emperor entertained the Queen at dinner. She played off, said he, all her wit against me; she had a great deal: all her manners, which were very fascinating; all her coquetry; she was not without charms. " But I was determined not to " yield. I found it necessary, however, to keep a " great command over myself, that I might con- " tinue exempt from all kind of engagement, and " every expression, which might be taken in a " doubtful sense, and the more so, because I was " carefully watched, and peculiarly by Alexander."

An instant before dinner Napoleon took a very beautiful rose from a flower stand, which he presented to the Queen. She at first expressed by the motion of her hand a kind of prepared refusal; but suddenly recollecting herself, she said; *Yes, but at least with Magdeburg.* The Emperor replied, "But . . . . . I shall observe to your Ma- "jesty, that it is I who present, and you, who "are about to receive it." The dinner and the remainder of the time passed over in that manner.

The Queen was seated at table between the two Emperors, who rivalled each other in gallantry. She was placed near Alexander's best ear; with one he can scarcely hear. The evening came, and the Queen having retired, the Emperor, who had shown the most engaging attentions to his guests, but, who had at the same time, been often driven to an extremity, resolved to come to a point. He sent for M. de Talleyrand, and Prince Kourakin, talked big to them, and letting fly, continued he, some hard words, observed, that after all, a woman and a piece of gallantry ought not to alter a system conceived for the destiny of a great people, and that he insisted upon the immediate conclusion of the negociations and the signing of the treaty; which took place according to his orders. "Thus," said he, "the Queen "of Prussia's conversation advanced the treaty by "a week or a fortnight." The Queen was preparing to renew her attacks the next day, and was in-

dignant, when she heard that the treaty was signed. She wept a great deal, and determined to see the Emperor Napoleon no more. She would not accept a second invitation to dinner. Alexander was himself obliged to prevail upon her. She complained most bitterly, and maintained, that Napoleon had broken his word. But Alexander had been always present. He had even been a dangerous witness, ready to give evidence of the slightest action or word on the part of Napoleon in her favour. "He has made you no promise," was his observation to her; "if you can prove the con-"trary, I here pledge myself as between man and "man to make him keep his promise, and he will "do so, I am convinced."—"But he has given me "to understand," said she, ... "No," replied Alexander, "and you have nothing to reproach "him with." She came at length. Napoleon, who had no longer any occasion to be on his guard against her, redoubled his attentions. She played off, for a few moments, the airs of an offended coquette, and when the dinner was over, and she was about to retire, Napoleon presented his hand, and conducted her to the middle of the staircase, where he stopped. She squeezed his hand, and said with a kind of tenderness; "Is it possible, that "after having had the honour of being so near to "the hero of the century and of history, he will "not leave me the power and satisfaction of being "enabled to assure him, that he has attached me

" to him for life?"—" Madam," replied the Emperor in a serious tone, " I am to be pitied; it is " the result of my unhappy stars." He then took leave of her. When she reached her carriage, she threw herself into it in tears; sent for Duroc, whom she highly esteemed, renewed all her complaints to him, and said, pointing to the palace; " There is a place in which I have been cruelly " deceived!"

" The Queen of Prussia," said the Emperor, " was unquestionably gifted with many happy re- " sources; she possessed a great deal of informa- " tion and had many excellent capabilities. It " was she, who really reigned for more than fif- " teen years. She also, in spite of my dexterity " and all my exertions, took the lead in conversa- " tion, and constantly maintained the ascendancy. " She touched, perhaps, too often upon her fa- " vourite topic, but she did so, however, with " great plausibility and without giving the slight- " est cause of uneasiness. It must be confessed " that she had an important object in view, and " that the time was short and precious."

" One of the high contracting parties," said the Emperor, " had frequently assured her, that she " ought to have come in the beginning or not " at all, and observed that, for his part, he had done " every thing in his power to induce her to come " at once. It was suspected," continued the Emperor, " that he had a personal motive to gratify

" by her coming; but on the other hand, the " husband had a motive equally personal in op- " posing it." Napoleon believed him to have been very kind and a sincere friend in the business.

" The king of Prussia," said the Emperor, " had " requested his audience of leave on that very day, " but I postponed it for four and twenty hours, " at the secret entreaty of Alexander. The king " of Prussia never forgave me for putting off that " audience; so clearly did it seem to him, that " Royal Majesty was insulted by my refusal.

" Another heavy charge against me, and of " which he has never been able to divest his feel- " ings, was that of having violated, as he said, his " territory of Anspach in our campaign of Auster- " litz. In all our subsequent interviews, however " important the subjects of our discussion, he laid " them all aside for the purpose of proving, that I " had really violated his territory of Anspach. He " was wrong; but in short, it was his conviction, " and his resentment was that of an honest man. " His wife, however, was vexed at it, and wished " him to pursue a higher system of politics, &c."

Napoleon reproached himself with a real fault, in allowing the king of Prussia's presence at Tilsit. His first determination was to prevent his coming. He would then have been less bound to shew any attention to his interests. He might have kept Silesia, he might have aggrandized Saxony with it, and have probably reserved for himself another

kind of destiny. He further remarked; "I learn, "that the politicians of the present day find great "fault with my treaty of Tilsit; they have dis- "covered, that I had, by that means, placed Eu- "rope at the mercy of the Russians; but if I had "succeeded at Moscow; and it is now known how "very near I was, they would, no doubt, have ad- "mired us for having, on the contrary, by that "treaty, placed the Russians at the mercy of Eu- "rope. I entertained great designs with respect "to the Germans. ..... But I failed, and there- "fore I was wrong. This is according to every "rule of justice....."

Almost every day at Tilsit, the two Emperors and the King rode out on horseback together, but said Napoleon, "the latter was always awkward and "unlucky." The Prussians felt it very visibly. Napoleon was constantly between the two sove- reigns; but either the King fell behind, or jos- tled and incommoded Napoleon. He shewed the same awkwardness on their return: the two Emperors dismounted in an instant, and took each other by the hand to go up stairs together. But as the honours were done by Napoleon, he could not enter without first seeing the King pass. It was sometimes necessary to wait for him a long time, and as the weather was often rainy, it hap- pened that the two Emperors got wet on the king's account, to the great dissatisfaction of all the spec- tators.

" This awkwardness," said the Emperor, " was " the more glaring, as Alexander is in possession of " all the graces, and equal, in elegance of manners, " to the most polished and amiable ornaments of our " Parisian drawing-rooms. The latter was at times " so tired of his companion, who seemed lost in his " own sorrows, or in some other cause, that we " mutually agreed on breaking up our common " meeting to get rid of him. We separated im- " mediately after dinner, under the pretence of " some particular business; but Alexander and I " met shortly afterwards to take tea with one " another, and we then continued in conversation " until midnight, and even beyond it."

Alexander and Napoleon met again some time after at Erfurt, and exchanged the most striking testimonies of affection. Alexander expressed with earnestness the sentiments of tender friendship and real admiration which he entertained for Napoleon. They passed some days together in the enjoyment of the charms of perfect intimacy and of the most familiar communications of private life. " We were," said the Emperor, " two young " men of quality, who, in their common pleasures, " had no secret from each other."

Napoleon had sent for the most distinguished performers of the French Theatre. A celebrated actress, Mademoiselle B——, attracted the attention of his guest, who had a momentary fancy to get acquainted with her. He asked his companion

whether any inconvenience was likely to be the result. "None," answered the latter; "only," added he, intentionally, "it is a certain and rapid "mode of making yourself known to all Paris. "After to-morrow, post-day, the most minute de- "tails will be dispatched, and in a short time, not "a statuary at Paris but will be qualified to give "a model of your person from head to foot." The danger of such a kind of publicity appeased the monarch's rising passion; "for," observed Napoleon, "he was very circumspect with regard to "that point, and he recollected no doubt the old "adage, when the mask falls, the hero disappears."

The Emperor assured us, that, had it been his wish, Alexander would certainly have given him his sister in marriage; his politics would have dictated the match, even had his inclination been against it. He was petrified when he heard of the marriage with Austria, and exclaimed—"This consigns me to my native forests." If he seemed at first to shift about, it was because some time was necessary to enable him to come to a decision. His sister was very young, and the consent of his mother was requisite. This was settled by Paul's will, and the Empress mother was one of Napoleon's greatest enemies. She was also the dupe of all the absurdities, all the ridiculous stories which had been circulated on his personal account. "How," she exclaimed, "can I marry my daughter to a "man who is unfit to be any one's husband? Shall

" another man take possession of my daughter's " bed, if it be necessary, that she should have chil- " dren? She is not formed for such a fate."— " Mother," said Alexander, " can you be so cre- " dulous as to believe the calumnies of London " and the insinuations of the saloons of Paris? If " that be the only difficulty, if it be that alone " which gives you pain, I answer for him, and " many others have it in their power to answer for " him with me."

" If Alexander's affection for me was sincere," said the Emperor, " it was alienated from me by " the force of intrigue. Certain persons, M——, " or others at the instigation of T——, lost no " seasonable opportunity of mentioning instances " of my turning him into ridicule, and they assured " him, that at Tilsit and Erfurt, he no sooner turned " his back than I took my opportunity of laugh- " ing at his expense. Alexander is very suscepti- " ble, and they must have easily soured his mind. " It is certain, that he made bitter complaints of it " at Vienna during the congress, and yet nothing " was more false; he pleased me, and I loved him."

S . . . . ., one of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, was sent immediately after the treaty of Tilsit to Alexander at Petersburg, and was loaded with favours. The efforts and liberality of Alexander were inexhaustible to render himself agreeable to his new ally.

A circumstance of 1814 is related, which drew,

it is said, from S . . . . . , a very happy allusion to his mission in Russia.

S . . . . . was, on his return from Russia, appointed minister of the police at Paris. A short time after the restoration, M. de B . . . . . addressing him at the Tuileries, in a manner altogether careless and unreserved, said, " Now that all is " over, you may tell us every thing; pray, who " was your agent at Hartwell?" (This was, as every one knows, the residence of Louis XVIII. in England) S . . . . ., astonished at the want of good sense, evinced by M. de B . . . . ., answered with dignity;—" M. le Comte, the Emperor considered " the asylum of kings as an inviolable sanctuary. " It was a principle which he impressed upon his " police and we adhered to it. We have since " learnt, that the same conduct was not observed " with respect to him. But you, Sir, should en- " tertain less doubt upon the subject than any " other person. When I arrived at Petersburgh, " you were there on the part of the king. The " Emperor Alexander, in the first warmth of his " reconciliation, acquainted me with every thing " that respected you, and asked me whether it was " the wish of my government, that you should " be ordered to leave his dominions. I had re- " ceived no instructions upon that head. I wrote " for them to the Emperor. His answer was, by " return of courier, that he was satisfied with the " sincere friendship of Alexander, that he would

" never interfere in his private arrangements; that " he entertained no personal hatred against the " Bourbons, and that if he believed it were pos- " sible for them to accept it, he would offer them " an asylum in France, and any royal residence, " which might be agreeable to them. If you were " then ignorant of these instructions, you will, " no doubt, find them among the papers of the " foreign office."

Arrival of the foreign commissioners.—Forced etiquette of Napoleon.—Anecdotes.—Council of State; details respecting the place of meeting, customs, &c.—Notice of some sittings, digression.—Gassendi.—The Croat regiment.—Ambassadors.—The national guard.—The university, &c.

17th of June.—The Emperor went out early in the morning. He ordered his calash for the purpose of taking a ride before breakfast. When he was getting into it, we were informed, that the Newcastle ship of war and the frigate Orontes were tacking to enter the port. These two vessels had overshot the island in the night, and were obliged to work to windward. They sailed from England the 23d of April and brought the bill respecting the Emperor's detention. The English legislature had sanctioned by law the determination of ministers on that subject. The Commissioners of Austria, France and Russia were on board of these vessels.

In the course of the day, the Emperor, speaking

of the forms and costumes which he had established, and of the etiquette which he had introduced, said "I found it a very difficult thing to "give myself up to my own inclinations. I "started into public notice from the multitude. "Necessity compelled me to form a state of ex- "ternal importance, to model a certain system of "solemnity; in a word, to establish an etiquette. "I should, otherwise, have been every day liable "to be slapped upon the shoulder. In France, we "are naturally inclined to a misplaced familiarity, "and I had to guard myself particularly against "those who had at once, without any preparatory "study, become men of education. We become "courtiers very easily, we are very obsequious in "the outset, and addicted to flattery and adula- "tion; but, unless it be repressed, a certain fami- "liarity soon takes place, which might with great "facility be carried as far as influence. It is well "known that our kings were not exempt from this "inconvenience." Here the Emperor alluded to a very characteristic anecdote of the time of Louis XIV.—that of the courtier, of the number of whose children that prince enquired at his levee. "Four, Sire," was the reply. The king having had occasion to speak to him two or three times in public during the day, put precisely the same question to him. "Pray, Sir, how many children have "you got?" The answer was uniformly the same; "Four, Sire." At length, as the King was at

play in the evening, he repeated the usual question. "How many children have you got?"—"Six, Sire." "How the plague can that be?" said the king, "for "if I recollect right, you told me you had but "four."—"Really, Sire, I was afraid of fatiguing "you with the constant repetition of the same "thing."

"Sire," observed one of the company to the Emperor, "I can mention an anecdote of a neighbour- "ing country, worthy of that which we have just "heard, and which may enable us to compare the "gratuitous insolence of an absolute monarch's "courtier, with the open resentment of a man, who "has nothing to fear from his constitutional sove- "reign.

"A person moving in the circles of high life in "London, had to complain of a great personage, by "whom he had been very ill-used, and pledged "himself to his friends, to have ostensible satis- "faction. Having learnt, that the great personage "was to honour a very brilliant party with his pre- "sence, he attended himself at an early hour, and "placed himself near the lady of the house. The "great personage had paid his respects to the lady, "and, after the customary compliments, being "about to join the rest of the company, he had "scarcely turned round, before the offended person, "leaning carelessly towards her, said with a loud "voice, Who is your fat friend?" The lady redden- "ed, pushed him with her elbow, and whispered;

" Hold your tongue, I beg, don't you see it is the " Prince?" The gentleman replied, in a higher " tone than before;—" How, the Prince!—Well, " upon my honour, he is grown as fat as a pig."

Every one is at liberty to decide upon the relative demerits of these two insolent characters. Both are, no doubt, very blameable, and if there be less coarseness in the conduct of our countryman, it must also be allowed, that his impertinence is altogether without an object, and purely gratuitous.

During another part of the day, the Emperor conversed at great length on the sittings of the Council of State. I had pointed out some, and of others we had but a doubtful recollection; or they had altogether slipped our memory. " Well," said he, " in a short time, scarcely a trace of them will " be left behind."—Being unable to sleep that night, I thought of these words, and endeavoured to recollect, as minutely as I could, every thing I was acquainted with respecting the Council of State;—the seat of its meetings, its usages, forms, &c. &c. and I do not think, I can better employ the leisure of our solitude at St. Helena, than by giving an account of them here, I shall occasionally add what I may recollect of the sittings at which I was present. There are persons to whom these details will not be destitute of interest.

The hall of the Council of State, in the Tuileries, the place where the sittings were usually held, was

on the same side with, and of the entire length of the chapel. In the partition wall, were several large doors, which being thrown open on Sundays, formed passages to the chapel. It was a very fine elongated apartment. At one of its extremities towards the interior of the palace, was a large and beautiful gate, by which the Emperor entered, when, attended by his court, he proceeded on Sunday to hear mass. It was only opened the rest of the week for the Emperor, when he went to his Council of State. The members of the council entered only by two small doors, contrived for that purpose in the opposite extremity.

A row of tables which occupied the whole length of the hall, on the right and left, was arranged there only when the council assembled, and the space left was sufficient to admit of seats within, near the wall, and of a free passage without. There sat the Counsellors of State, in their respective order of precedence; their places were, besides, designated by port-folios, bearing their names, and containing their papers. At the extremity of the hall, towards the grand entrance, and across the two rows, were placed similar tables for the Masters of Requests. The Auditors were seated on stools or chairs, behind the Counsellors of State.

At the upper extremity of the hall, opposite the grand entrance, was the Emperor's place, on an elevation of one or two steps. There was his arm chair, and a small table covered with a piece of rich

tapestry, and furnished with all the necessary articles, with paper, pens, ink, pen-knives, and which were also laid before the Members of the Council.

At the right of the Emperor, but below, and on a level with us, was the Prince Arch-chancellor, with a separate small table; on his left, the Prince Arch-treasurer, who attended very seldom, and finally, at the left of the latter, M. Locre, who drew up the official account of the proceedings.

When any princes of the family happened to be present, a similar table was placed for them on the same line, and according to their respective rank. If any of the ministers were present, and they were all at liberty to attend whenever they pleased, they took their places at the side tables, at the head of the counsellors of state. The enclosed space was empty, and none ever passed through it, but the Emperor, or the Members of the Council, when proceeding to take the oath of allegiance to him.

The ushers moved silently about the hall, for the service of the members, even during the deliberations of the council. The members left their places whenever they pleased, to obtain from their colleagues any particular documents of which they might be in want, or for any other purpose.

The upper compartments of the hall displayed allegorical paintings, relative to the functions of the Council of State, such as justice, commerce, industry, &c. &c. and the cieling was decorated with the beautiful picture of the battle of Austezlitz,

by Gros. Thus, under one of the most glorious laurels, with which he ennobled France, did Napoleon preside over its internal administration.

It was in that place that for nearly eighteen months I enjoyed the inestimable advantage, the unparalleled satisfaction, of attending twice a week sittings so interesting by their special objects, and rendered still more so by the constant presence of the Emperor, who seemed to be the soul and life of the deliberations. It was there that I have seen him protract the discussions from eleven in the morning until nine at night, and display at the conclusion as much activity, copiousness, and freshness of mind and understanding as he did in the beginning, while we were ready to sink down with weariness and fatigue.

While the court was at St. Cloud the council was held there, but when the sitting was to take place at too early an hour, or that it was likely to last long, the Emperor adjourned the proceedings until the members could take some refreshment, which was served up in the adjacent apartment, on small tables most magnificently supplied, as if by enchantment. I may truly say, that it would be impossible to give a just idea of the fascinations we witnessed in every thing belonging to the Imperial palaces.

The hour of the Council's sitting was regularly noticed in our letters of convocation, but the hour was generally eleven.

When a sufficient number of members was present, the Arch-Chancellor, who was always there the first, and who presided in the Emperor's absence, opened the sitting, and called the attention of the Council to what was then called the *little order of the day*, and which solely embraced simple matters of a local nature, and of mere form.

About an hour later, in general, the beating of the drum in the interior of the Palace announced the Emperor's arrival. The grand entrance was thrown open ; his Majesty was announced ; all the Council rose, and the Emperor appeared, preceded by his Chamberlain and his Aide-de-Camp on duty, who presented his chair, received his hat, and continued behind him during the sitting, ready to receive and execute his orders.

The Arch-Chancellor then presented to the Em- the *great order of the day*, which contained the series of objects under deliberation. The Emperor read them over, and pointed out in a distinct tone that which he wished to have discussed. The Counsellor of State, nominated for the purpose, read his report, and the deliberations commenced.

Every member was at liberty to speak ; if several rose at the same time, the order of precedence was regulated by the Emperor. The members spoke from their places sitting. No written speeches were allowed to be read ; it was requisite that they should be made extemporaneously. When the Emperor thought the question, in which

he usually took no inconsiderable share himself, sufficiently discussed, he made a summary of the arguments, which was always luminous, and frequently marked with novelty and point, came to a conclusion and put it to the vote.

I have already noticed the freedom enjoyed in these debates. The animation of the speakers, increasing by degrees, became sometimes excessive, and the discussion was often protracted beyond measure, particularly when the Emperor, occupied probably with some other subject, seemed, either from distraction or something else, to be altogether ignorant of what was going on. He then commonly cast an irresolute eye over the hall, cut pencils with his penknife, pricked the tapestry of his table or the arm of his chair with the point of it, or employed his pencil or pen in scrawling whimsical marks or sketches, which, after he was gone, excited the covetous attention of the young members, who made a kind of scramble for them; and it was curious to observe, when he happened to have traced the name of some country or capital, the hyperbolical inferences that were sought to be extracted from it.

Sometimes too, when the Emperor entered the Council, as soon as his dinner was ended, and after having undergone great fatigue during the morning, he would fold his arms upon the table, lay down his head and fall asleep. The Arch-Chancellor proceeded with the deliberations, which

were continued without interruption, and the Emperor on awakening immediately caught up the thread of the discussion, though the previous subject might have been ended and another introduced. The Emperor often asked for a glass of water and sugar; and a table in the adjoining room was always laid out with refreshments for his use, without any precautions being adopted as to the individuals who were permitted to approach it.

The Emperor, it is well known, was in the habit of taking snuff almost every minute: this was a sort of mania which seized him chiefly during intervals of abstraction. His snuff-box was speedily emptied; but he still continued to thrust his fingers into it, or to raise it to his nose, particularly when he was himself speaking. Those Chamberlains who proved themselves most expert and assiduous in the discharge of their duties, would frequently endeavour, unobserved by the Emperor, to take away the empty box and substitute a full one in its stead; for there existed a great competition of attention and courtesy among the Chamberlains who were habitually employed in services about the Emperor's person; an honour which was very much envied. These individuals were, however, seldom changed, either because they intrigued to retain their places, or because it was naturally most agreeable to the Emperor to continue them in posts, with the duties

of which they were acquainted. It was the business of the Grand Marshal (Duroc) to make all these arrangements. The following is an instance of the attentions evinced by the Emperor's Chamberlains. One of them having observed, that the Emperor on going to the theatre frequently forgot his opera glass, of which he made very great use, got one made exactly like it, so that the first time he saw the Emperor without his glass, he presented his own to him, and the difference was not observed. On his return from the theatre the Emperor was not a little surprised to find, that he had got two glasses exactly alike. Next day he inquired how the new opera glass had made its appearance, and the Chamberlain replied that it was one he kept in reserve in case it might be wanted.

The Emperor always shewed himself very sensible of these attentions, which were innocent in themselves, and which were calculated to make an impression on the feelings, when dictated only by love and respect; for then the individual was not acting the part of a slavish courtier, but that of an affectionate and devoted servant. Napoleon, on his part, whatever may have been reported to the contrary in the saloons of Paris, evinced sincere regard for the individuals of his household. When he quitted Paris for St. Cloud, Malmaison, or any other of his country residences, he usually invited the individuals of his household to his private

evening parties; and thus was formed a pleasant family circle, admittance to which was held to be a very high honour. When in the country he also admitted his Chamberlains to dine at his table. One day while at dinner at Trianon, being troubled with a severe cold in his head, a complaint to which he was very subject, he found himself in want of a handkerchief, the servants immediately ran to fetch one; but in the meanwhile the Chamberlain on duty, who was a relation of Maria Louisa, drew a clean one unfolded from his pocket, and wished to take the other from the Emperor. "I thank you," said Napoleon; "but I will never "have it said that I allowed M—— to touch a "handkerchief which I had used;" and he threw it on the ground. Such was the man who in certain circles was described as being coarse and brutal, ill treating all his household, and even behaving rudely to the ladies of the palace. The Emperor, on the contrary, was a scrupulous observer of decorum. He was very sensible to all the little attentions he received; and though it was a sort of system with him to suffer no manifestation of gratitude to escape him, yet the expression of his eye or the tone of his voice, sufficiently denoted what he really felt. Unlike those whose lips overflow with the expression of sentiments which their hearts never feel, Napoleon seemed to make it a rule to repress or disguise the kind emotions by which he was frequently in-

spired. I believe I have already mentioned this fact; but the following are some fresh proofs of it, which recur to me at this moment. These circumstances are the more characteristic, since they occurred at Longwood, where Napoleon might have been expected to indulge his natural feelings with less restraint than during the possession of his power.

I usually sat beside my son while he wrote to the Emperor's dictation. The Emperor always walked about the room when dictating, and he frequently stood for a moment behind my chair, to look over the writing, so that he might know where to take up the thread of his dictation. When in this situation, how many times has my head been enclosed between his arms, and even slightly pressed to his bosom. Then, immediately checking himself, he seemed to have been merely leaning over my shoulders, or playfully bearing all his weight upon me, as if to try my strength.

The Emperor was very fond of my son, and I have often seen him bestow a sort of manual caress on him; and then, as it were, to do away with the effect of this motion, he would immediately accompany it by some words uttered in a loud and somewhat sharp tone of voice. One day as he was entering the drawing-room, in a moment of good-humour and forgetfulness, I saw him take Madame Bertrand's hand and affec-

tionately raise it to his lips; but suddenly recollecting himself, he turned away, in a manner that would have had a very awkward effect had not Madame Bertrand, with that exquisite grace for which she is so peculiarly distinguished, removed all embarrassment, by impressing a kiss on the hand that had been extended to her. But these stories have carried me very far from my subject. I must return to the Council of State.

All the reports, plans of resolutions and decrees which we had to discuss, were printed and distributed to us at our own houses. There was one subject, for example, relating to the University, which was perhaps twenty times drawn up. Others lingered for a length of time in the portfolios, or were at length totally dropped, without any cause being assigned.

On my return from my mission to Holland, just after I had been created a member of the Council of State, I rose up to speak on the subject of the conscription. I was naturally interested in all that related to naval affairs, my mind was full of enthusiasm, and was stored with the observations which I had just collected in Holland. I proposed that all the Dutch conscripts, in consideration of their natural predilections, should be permitted, if they chose, to enter the naval service; and moreover, that the privilege of this choice should be extended to all the French conscripts I pointed

out the inconveniences which such an arrangement was calculated to obviate, and developed the advantages which it was likely to ensure. I observed, that it was impossible to render our seamen too numerous. Our ship's crews, I said, would thus become regiments; the same men would at once be sailors and soldiers, gunners, and pontooners; we should obtain double service at the same rate of pay, &c. My speech had, up to this point, been as favorably received as I could wish; and in my own mind I congratulated myself on my success; when on a sudden I lost all power of utterance. The train of my ideas immediately became disconnected, and I stood mute and confounded, without knowing where I was or what I was doing. This was the first time I had ventured to speak; and I had made an extraordinary effort to surmount my natural diffidence. Profound silence reigned in the assembly, a hundred eyes were fixed upon me, and I was ready to sink under the weight of my embarrassment. I had no alternative but to confess my painful situation, to tell the Emperor frankly, that I would rather be in a battle, and finally to ask permission to conclude my address by reading a few lines from a written paper which I had brought with me. From that moment, however, I never felt any wish to speak in the Council of State; I was completely cured of all desire to exert my eloquence in future. But in spite of this unfortunate circumstance, my brief address had

attracted the notice of the Emperor; for a few days afterwards, the Aid-de-Camp on duty, (Count Bertrand) informed me that the Emperor, while playing at billiards, seeing the Minister of the Marine enter, said to him :—" Well Sir, Las Cases read to " us, at the Council, a very good memorial on the " composition of the navy; he was not at all of " your opinion respecting the age at which seamen " should be allowed to enter the service."

Every sitting of the Council at which the Emperor presided, presented the highest degree of interest, for he never failed to deliver a speech himself, and all the observations that fell from him were important. I was always delighted with his speeches: but a circumstance that both surprised and vexed me, was to hear some of the remarks that had fallen from the Emperor in the course of the day, at the Council of State, repeated and often ill-naturedly perverted in the saloons of Paris in the evening. How could this happen? Was it owing to the inaccuracy of the individual who had reported what he heard, or to the malignity of him to whom it had been reported? Be this as it may, the fact was as I have stated.

I often entertained the idea of writing out the speeches which I had heard the Emperor deliver, and I now very deeply regret having neglected to do so. The following are a few reminiscences which occur to me at this moment:

One day, the Emperor, speaking on the political

rights which it was proper to concede to persons of French origin born in foreign countries, said, "The noblest title in the world is that of being "born a Frenchman; it is a title dispensed by "Heaven, and which no individual on earth should "have the power to withdraw. For my part, I "wish that every man of French origin, though he "were a foreigner in the tenth generation, should "still be a Frenchman, if he wish to claim the "title. Were he to present himself on the other "bank of the Rhine, saying, I wish to be a French-"man, I would have his voice be more powerful "than the law, the barriers should fall before him, "and he should return triumphant to the bosom "of our common mother."

On another occasion, he said, though I do not now recollect on what subject he was speaking: "The Constituent Assembly acted very unwisely "in abolishing purely titular nobility; a measure "which was calculated to humble so many indi-"viduals. I do better. I confer on all Frenchmen "titles, of which every one has reason to be proud."

At another time, he used the following words, which perhaps, I have already quoted.

In the Council of State a discussion once arose respecting the plan of a decree. The result of this discussion has now escaped my recollection, but I know the subject was to determine, that the kings of the Imperial Families, occupying foreign thrones, should leave their titles and all the etiquette of roy-

alty on the frontier, and only resume them on quitting France. The Emperor replying to some one who had started objections to this, and at the same time explaining the motives for the measure, said: "But for these monarchs, I reserve in France a "still higher title; they shall be more than kings, "they shall be French Princes."

I might multiply quotations of this kind to an endless length: they must be engraven in the recollection of all the members of the Council, as well as in mine. It will perhaps be a matter of surprise that having seen the Emperor so frequently, and having heard him deliver sentiments such as these, I should have said, I did not know him at the period when I followed him to St. Helena. My answer is, that at that time I felt with regard to the Emperor, more of admiration and enthusiasm than of real love, arising from an intimate knowledge of his character. Even in the palace we were assailed by so many absurd reports respecting the private character and conduct of Napoleon, and we had so little direct communication with him, that by dint of hearing the same stories repeated over and over, I imbibed, in spite of myself, a certain degree of doubt and distrust. He was described to be of a dissembling and cunning disposition, and it was affirmed that he could, when in public, make a parade of fine sentiment, which he was totally incapable of feeling; in short, that he possessed

eloquent tongue and an insensible heart. Thus it was not until I became thoroughly acquainted with his character, that I was convinced how really and truly he was what he appeared to be. Never perhaps was any man in the world so devotedly attached to France, and there was no sacrifice which he would not readily have made to preserve her glory. This is sufficiently evident from his conduct at Chatillon, and after his return from Waterloo. He expressed himself truly and energetically on his rock, when he used these remarkable words, which I have before quoted: "No, my real sorrow is not here!"

The following anecdotes have reference to other subjects, partly grave and partly humorous. One day the Counsellor of State, General Gassendi, taking part in the discussion of the moment, dwelt much upon the doctrines of economists. The Emperor who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying: "My "dear General, where did you gain all this know-"ledge? Where did you imbibe these princi-"ples?" Gassendi, who very seldom spoke in the Council, after defending himself in the best way he could, finding himself driven into his last entrenchments, replied that he had, after all, borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How?" exclaimed the Emperor, with warmth, "What do "you say? Is it possible? From me, who have "always thought that if there existed a monarchy

" of granite, the chimeras of political economists, " would reduce it to powder!" And after some other remarks, partly ironical and partly serious, he concluded;—" Go, General! you must have " fallen asleep in your office, and have dreamed " all this." Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied, " Oh! as for falling asleep in our offices, " Sire, I defy any one to do that with you, you " plague us too much for that." All the council burst into a fit of laughter, and the Emperor laughed louder than any one.

Another time a question arose respecting the organization of the Illyrian provinces, just after they had fallen into the power of France. Those provinces bordering on Turkey were occupied by regiments of Croatian troops embodied on a peculiar plan. They were, in short, military colonies, the idea of which was conceived upwards of a century ago by the great Prince Eugène, for the purpose of establishing a barrier against the incursions and ravages of the Turks, and had very well fulfilled the purpose for which they were destined. The committee appointed to draw up a plan for the organization of the provinces, proposed that the Croatian regiments should be disbanded, and replaced by a national guard similar to ours. " Are you mad?" exclaimed the Emperor, on hearing the report read; " are " the Croatians Frenchmen? or have you under- " stood the excellence, utility, and importance of " the institution?"—" Sire," replied the individual,

who conceived himself bound to defend the report, "the Turks will not now venture to resume their "transgressions."—"And why not?"—"Sire, be- "cause your majesty is become their neighbour." —"Well, and what of that?"—"Sire, they "will be too much awed by your power."—"Oh "yes, Sire, Sire," replied the Emperor sharply, "a truce with compliments at present, or if you "like, go and present them to the Turks, who will "answer you by a discharge of musquetry, and "you can return and give me an account of the "affair." The Emperor immediately decided that the Croatian regiments should be preserved.

One day the plan of a decree respecting ambassadors was submitted to the consideration of the Council of State. This plan, though very remarkable, was, I believe, never published to the world. The coolness which the Council evinced on this subject caused the matter to be dropped; many other plans also experienced the same fate; which, it may be observed, affords an additional proof of the independence of the Council, and shews that Napoleon possessed more moderation than is generally believed.

The Emperor, who appeared to be the only individual to support the decree, and who adhered to it very firmly, made some very curious remarks in its defence. He wished that ambassadors should enjoy no prerogatives or privileges which might place them above the laws of the country. At

most, he was only willing to grant that they should be subject to a higher kind of jurisdiction. "For example," said he, "I have no objection that they "should be brought to trial only after a prelimi- "nary decision of an assemblage of the ministers "and high dignitaries of the empire; that they "should be tried only by a special tribunal, com- "posed of the first magistrates and functionaries "of the state. It will perhaps be said that sove- "reigns, finding their own dignity compromised "in the persons of their representatives, will not "send ambassadors to my court. Well, where "will be the harm of that? I can withdraw mine "from foreign courts, and thus the country will be "relieved from the burden of enormous, and very "frequently, useless salaries. Why should am- "bassadors be exempt from the law? They are sent "with the view of being agreeable, and for the "purpose of maintaining an interchange of friend- "ship and favour between their respective sove- "reigns. If they overstep the limits of their duty "they should be reduced to the class of common "offenders, and placed within the pale of the "general law. I cannot tacitly permit ambassa- "dors at my court to act the part of hired spies; "if I do I must be content to be regarded as a "fool, and to submit to all the mischief to which "I may be exposed. It is only necessary to have "the matter well understood before hand, so as to "obviate the impropriety of violating received cus-

" toms, and what has hitherto been regarded as the " law of nations.

" During the height of a celebrated crisis," continued the Emperor, " I received information that " a great personage had taken refuge in the house " of M. de Cobentzel, conceiving that he would be " protected under the immunities of the Austrian " ambassador. I summoned the ambassador to " my presence, in order to enquire into the truth of " the fact, and to inform him that it would be most " unfortunate if it were really such as it had been " reported to me. I observed that custom would " be nothing in my eyes when compared with the " safety of a nation; and that I would without he- " sitation order the arrest of the criminal and his " privileged protector, deliver them both up to a " tribunal, and subject them to the full penalties " of the law. And this I would have done, gen- " tlemen," added he, raising his voice. " The " ambassador was aware of my determination, and " therefore my wishes were obeyed without further " opposition."

Long before the expedition to Russia, perhaps a year or two before it was undertaken, the Emperor wished to establish a military classification of the Empire. At the Council of State, there were read fifteen or twenty plans for the embodying of three *bans* of the French national guard. The first, which was to consist of young men, was to march as far as the frontiers; the second, which

was to be composed of middle aged and married men, was not to quit the department to which it belonged; and the third, consisting of men in years, was to be kept solely for the defence of the town, in which it had been raised. The Emperor, who was well convinced of the utility of this plan, frequently recurred to it, and made many patriotic remarks on the subject; but it constantly received marked disapproval from the Council, and experienced a kind of passive and silent opposition. Meanwhile, amidst the multitude of public affairs which claimed the attention of the Emperor, he lost sight of this plan, which his foresight had doubtless calculated for the safety of France, and which was likely to have ensured that result. Upwards of two millions of men would have been classed and armed at the period of our disasters. Who then would have ventured to assail us?

During a discussion on the above subject, the Emperor spoke in a very emphatic and remarkable strain. A member (M. Malouet) in a very circumlocutory style, expressed his disapproval of this plan of organization. The Emperor addressing him in his usual way, said: "Speak boldly, sir, "do not mutilate your ideas: say what you have "to say, freely; we are here by ourselves." The speaker than declared, "that the measure was cal- "culated to inspire general alarm; that every in- "dividual trembled to find himself classed in the

" divisions of the national guard, being persuaded
" that under the pretext of internal defence, the ob-
" ject was to remove the guards from the country."
" Very good!" said the Emperor, " I now under-
" stand you. But, gentlemen," continued he, " ad-
" dressing himself to the members of the Coun-
" cil, you are all fathers of families, possessing am-
" ple fortunes, and filling important posts, you
" must necessarily have numerous dependents;
" and you must either be very mal-adroit, or very
" indifferent, if, with all these advantages, you do
" not exercise a great influence on public opinions.
" Now, how happens it, that you, who know me so
" well, should suffer me to be so little known by
" others? When did you ever know me to employ
" deception and fraud, in my system of govern-
" ment? I am not timid, and I therefore am not
" accustomed to resort to indirect measures. My
" fault is, perhaps, to express myself too abruptly,
" too laconically. I merely pronounce the word,
" I order, and with regard to forms and details, I
" trust to the intermediate agents who execute my
" intentions; and heaven knows, whether on this
" point, I have any great reason to congratulate
" myself. If, therefore, I wanted troops, I should
" boldly demand them of the Senate, who would
" levy them for me; or if I could not obtain them
" from the Senate, I should address myself to the
" people, and you would see them eagerly march
" to join my ranks. Perhaps you are astonished to

" hear me say this, for sometimes you appear not
" to have a correct idea of the real state of things.
" Know then, that my popularity is immense, and
" incalculable; for, whatever may be alleged to
" the contrary, the whole of the French people love
" and respect me: their good sense is superior to
" the malignant reports of my enemies, and the
" metaphysical speculations of fools. They would
" follow me in defiance of all. You are sur-
" prised at these declarations, but they are never-
" theless true. The French people know no bene-
" factor but me. Through me they fearlessly enjoy
" all that they have acquired; through me they
" behold their brothers and sons, indiscriminately
" promoted, honoured and enriched; through me
" they find their hands constantly employed, and
" their labour accompanied by its due reward.
" They have never had reason to accuse me of in-
" justice or prepossession. Now, the people see, feel
" and comprehend all this; but they understand
" nothing of metaphysics. Not that I am inclined
" to repel true and great principles; heaven forbid
" that I should. On the contrary, I act upon them
" as much as our present extraordinary circum-
" stances will permit; but I only mean to say, that
" the people do not yet understand them; while
" they perfectly understand me, and place implicit
" trust in me. Be assured, then, that the people of
" France will always conform to the plans, which
" we propose for their welfare.

" Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by the " supposed opposition which has just been alluded " to; it exists only in the saloons of Paris, and by " no means in the great body of the nation. In this " plan, I solemnly declare I have no ulterior view of " sending the national guard abroad; my thoughts, " at this moment, are solely occupied in adopting " measures at home, for the safety, repose, and sta- " bility of France. Proceed then to embody the " national guard; that each citizen may know his " post in the hour of need; that even M. Camba- " ceres yonder, may shoulder a musket, should our " danger require him so to do. We shall thus have " a nation built of stone and mortar, capable of re- " sisting the attacks both of time and men. It is " besides my intention to place the national guard " on a level with the regiments of the line; the old " retired officers shall be the chiefs and the fathers " of the corps. I shall have promotion in the na- " tional guard solicited as ardently as court fa- " vours, &c."

All the above must be contained in the registers of M. Locré, partly in discussions relative to the national guard, and partly, as well as I can recollect, on the subject of one of the annual conscriptions. I remember that one day, in particular, there was a long debate respecting the University. The Emperor had expressed himself dissatisfied with the little advancement that was observable in the institution, and the bad system

on which it was conducted. M. Segur was directed to present a report on this subject, which he did with his usual candour and sincerity. He set on foot the necessary inquiries, and found that the Emperor's plans were ill understood and badly executed. Napoleon had wished that erudition should be only a secondary object, that national principles and doctrines should take place of every thing; and yet these principles and doctrines were the subjects to which least attention was devoted.

The Emperor was not present at this sitting; a circumstance which very much mortified the friends of the person principally interested in the question. We were guilty of sacrificing too much to the spirit of *coteries*. The report was never again brought forward; it was withdrawn from our portfolios, and it was made a point of some importance to get it returned from those members of the Council who had carried it home with them.

However, some time after this, the great dignitaries of the University were summoned to the bar of the Council of State. The Emperor expressed his displeasure at the bad management, and the bad spirit which seemed to preside over this important institution. He observed, that all his intentions were frustrated, that his plans were never properly carried into effect, &c. M. de F—— crouched beneath the storm, and nevertheless continued his accustomed course. The Emperor said, that on his return from the Island of Elba,

he had been assured that the Grand Master of the University had made a boast to the government that succeeded the empire, of having done all in his power to thwart and misdirect the impulse which Napoleon wished to impart to the rising generation.

Recollections of Waterloo.

18th.—The Emperor sent for me to his study before dinner; he was busy in reading the newspapers which had just arrived. M. de Montholon solicited permission to wait on him. He informed the Emperor that Madame de Montholon had just been brought to bed of a daughter, and requested that his Majesty would do him the honour to stand god-father to the child.

After dinner, the Emperor again looked over the papers which he had already perused, and remarked that France still remained in a state of agitation and uncertainty; he observed, that the latest English papers used the most indecorous language with regard to the royal family. . . . . One article led him to say: "present circum-"stances, the necessities of the moment, and "sympathies of old date, concur in favouring the "return of the monks to France. This is a cha-"racteristic circumstance in France, as in the ter-"ritories of the Pope." Then dwelling on the subject of the latter, he continued, "as for the "Pope, it is his special affair, and is calculated to

" restore his power. Would any one believe, that " while he was himself a prisoner at Fontainbleau, " and while the question of his own existence was " under consideration, he argued with me seriously " on the existence of the monks, and endeavoured " to induce me to re-establish them! . . . . . That " was truly like the court of Rome! . . . . ."

This day was the anniversary of the battle of of Waterloo. The circumstance was mentioned by some one present, and the recollection of it produced a visible impression on the Emperor. " Incomprehensible day," said he in a tone of sorrow. . . . . " Concurrence of unheard of fatali- " ties! . . . . . Grouchy! . . . . . Ney! . . . . . Der- " lon! . . . . . was there treachery, or only misfor- " tune! . . . . Alas! poor France! . . . . ." Here he covered his eyes with his hands. " And yet," said he, " all that human skill could do was ac- " complished! . . . . . All was not lost until the " moment when all had succeeded! . . . ."

A short time afterwards, alluding to the same subject, he exclaimed; " In that extraordinary " campaign, thrice, in less than a week's space, " I saw the certain triumph of France, and the de- " termination of her fate slip through my fingers.

" Had it not been for the desertion of a traitor, " I should have annihilated the enemy at the open- " ing of the campaign.

" I should have destroyed him at Ligny, if my " left had done its duty.

" I should have destroyed him again at Water-
" loo if my right had not failed me.

" . . . . . Singular defeat, by which, notwith-
" standing the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of
" the conquered has not suffered, nor the fame of
" the conqueror been encreased: the memory of
" the one will survive his destruction; the memory
" of the other will perhaps be buried in his tri-
" umph! . . . . ."

Departure of the Northumberland.—On the introduction and form given to the Campaigns of Italy.—The Russian Campaign, by an Aide-de-Camp of the Vice-Roy.

19th.—To day the Northumberland sailed for Europe.

This vessel had conveyed us to St. Helena; we had in course of our voyage maintained friendly intercourse with the officers; the crew had shewn us great kindness, and we had received attentions from Admiral Cockburn himself, towards whom we entertained more of ill-humour than absolute dislike, and whose conduct, after all had not been of a nature to wound our feelings. Whether from all these circumstances combined, or some others which had escaped our notice, or whether owing to that powerful and natural inclination which leads us to attach ourselves to our fellow-creatures, and to cherish social feelings with regard to each other, I know not; but it is certain that we did not feel indifferent to the departure of the

Northumberland. It seemed as though we lost something in thus bidding adieu to our old shipmates.

The Emperor had passed a very bad night; he bathed his feet, to relieve a violent head-ache.

About one o'clock he went to take a walk in the garden, having in his hand the first volume of an English work, respecting his own life. He turned it over as he walked about. This work had evidently been written in a less malignant spirit than Goldsmith's. It certainly exhibited less grossness; but it contained the same inventions, the same false statements, and displayed the same ignorance. The Emperor read the article relative to his childhood, and that period of his early life which he spent at College. The whole was a tissue of misrepresentation; and this led him to remark, that I had been very right in suggesting that a narrative of the events of his early career should be prefixed to the campaign of Italy; and he added that what he had just read had fully confirmed him in favour of this idea.

I ought before to have mentioned, that after the dictation of the campaigns of Italy was concluded, and after it had all been arranged into chapters, the Emperor was still undecided as to the manner in which he should form an introduction to it. He had changed his mind frequently on this subject; and had conceived many different ideas, which he by turns abandoned and

resumed. Sometimes he was inclined to commence with a few unimportant enterprizes in which he had been engaged before the seige of Toulon; such as an expedition to Sardinia, which had failed, &c. At other times he determined to open the subject by describing the first events of the French revolution, the state of Europe and the movements of our armies. I always disapproved these ideas, which, I conceived, would carry him back to too remote a period. He had begun by dictating to me the siege of Toulon, and this I maintained was the proper point of departure, and the most natural arrangement, since he had not undertaken to write a history, but only his private Memoirs, In this grand episode of the history of ages, he ought, I said, to appear all at once on the theatre of the world, and to occupy the fore-ground which he was destined never afterwards to quit it. It is my place, as editor, to record, in any introduction which I might think proper to make, all the details of Napoleon's early life, and of the events anterior to the period to which his own dictations referred. The Emperor approved of this idea; and after discussing it one day during dinner, he decided on its adoption. The form that has been given to the campaigns of Italy was determined on by the above considerations, and to this subject the Emperor alluded in his remark just mentioned, respecting the introduction to the campaigns.

At three o'clock the governor and the new ad-

miral, Sir Pultney Malcolm, were presented to the Emperor, who, though labouring under indisposition, was nevertheless very gracious and talkative.

Both before and after dinner the Emperor amused himself by looking over a work on the Russian campaign, written by an officer who had formerly been one of the Viceroy's aides-de-camp. The Emperor had heard it described as a most odious production; but he has been so accustomed to the attacks of libelists, that declamation has but little effect upon him. In works of this kind he looks to facts only; and under this point of view he did not find the publication in question so bad as it had been represented to him. "An historian," said he, "would select from it only what is "good; he would take the facts and omit the de- "clamation, which is only calculated to please "fools. The author of this work proves that the "Russians themselves burnt Moscow, Smolen- "sko, &c.; he describes the French as having "been victorious in every engagement. The facts "that are to be found in this work," continued the Emperor, "have evidently been described for the "purpose of being published during my reign, in "the period of my power. The declamatory pas- "sages have been interpolated since my fall. The author could not easily pervert the ground-work of his subject, though he has interspersed it with abusive remarks after the fashion of the day.

"As to the disasters of my retreat I left him

" nothing to say any more than other libelists. " My 29th bulletin plunged them into despair. In " their rage they accused me of exaggeration. " They were provoked to a pitch of madness. I " thus deprived them of an excellent subject, I " carried off their prey."

The Emperor quoted several passages from the works of this and some other French authors, all of whom declaimed against their countrymen, and gave a false picture of their achievements. He could not refrain from observing that it was a circumstance unexampled in history to see a nation strive to depreciate her own glory, to see her own sons thus intent on destroying her trophies. " But " from the bosom of France avengers will doubtless rise up. Posterity will brand with disgrace " the madness of the present day. Can these be " Frenchmen," he exclaimed, " who speak and " write in this strain? Are their hearts dead to " every spark of patriotism?—But no, they cannot " be Frenchmen! They speak our language, it is " true; they were born on the same soil with us; " but they are not animated by the feelings and " principles of Frenchmen!"

Prophetic remarks.—Lord Holland.—The Princess Charlotte of Wales.—Conversation relating to myself.

21st.—The Emperor took a walk in the garden attended by his suite. The conversation turned on the possibility of our returning to Europe and seeing France once again. "My dear friends," said he, in a tone of sincere feeling, and with an expression which it is impossible to describe, "You will return!"—"Not without you," we all exclaimed with one voice. This led us once more to analyse the probable chances of our quitting St. Helena, and all yielded to the necessity of admitting that our removal could only take place through the intervention of the English. But the Emperor could not imagine how this intervention was likely to be brought about. "The impression is made," said he; "it "has taken too deep a root; they will everlast- "ingly fear me. Pitt told them, There can be "no safety for you, with a man who has a whole "invasion in his own head." "But," observed some one present, "suppose new interests should "rise up in England; suppose a truly constitu- "tional and liberal ministry should be established, "would the English government find no advan- "tage in fixing through you, Sire, liberal princi- "ples in France, and thereby propagating them "throughout Europe?" "Certainly," replied the

Emperor, " I admit all this." " Well then," continued the individual who had first spoken, " would not this constitutional administration " find a guarantee in these liberal principles, and " in your own interests?" " I admit this also," replied the Emperor. " I can suppose Lord Hol- " land, as Prime Minister of England, writing to " me at Paris; if you do so and so I shall be " ruined; or the Princess Charlotte of Wales, " who we will suppose to have removed me " hence, saying to me: if you act thus, I shall be " hated and shall be looked upon as the scourge " of my country. At these words I should stop " short:—they would arrest me in my career " more effectually than armies.

" And after all, what is there to fear? That " I should wage war? I am now too old for that. " Is it feared that I should resume my pursuit of " glory? I have enjoyed glory even to satiety. " I have wallowed in it; and it may be said to be " a thing which I have henceforth rendered at " once common and difficult. Is it supposed that " I would recommence my conquests? I did not " persevere in them through mania; they were " the result of a great plan, and I may even say " that I was urged to them by necessity. They " were reasonable at the moment when I pursued " them; but they would now be impossible. They " were practicable once; but now it would be " madness to attempt them. And besides, the

" convulsions and misfortunes to which France " has been subjected, will henceforth give rise to " so many difficulties, that to remove them will " be a sufficient source of glory without seeking " for any other."

Two of the gentlemen of the Emperor's suite had been to the town to see the persons who had newly arrived at the Island, and to hear the news of the day. The account which they delivered on their return occupied the Emperor's attention for some minutes in the garden. About six o'clock he proceeded to his closet desiring me to follow him; and by chance a conversation was introduced, which to me was in the highest degree interesting and valuable. Though the subject of this conversation relates only to myself personally, yet I cannot pass it over in silence; it developes so many characteristic traits of the Emperor, that these would furnish a sufficient apology for my laying it before the reader, were any apology necessary.

The persons who had arrived by the Newcastle had spoken much of my Historical Atlas, which led the Emperor again to remark on the extraordinary celebrity of the work, and to express his surprise that he should not sooner have become thoroughly acquainted with it.

" How happened it," said he, " that none of " your friends should have given me a correct " idea of it? I never saw it until I was on board

" the Northumberland, and now I find it is
" known to every body. How came you never
" to call my attention to it yourself? I should
" have appreciated your merits, and should have
" made your fortune. I had formed a confused
" and indifferent idea of your work, which per
" haps influenced my mind unfavourably with
" respect to yourself. Such is the misfortune of
" Sovereigns; for doubtless no one entertained
" better intentions than myself. Those who filled
" posts about my person might easily have
" brought me to render full justice to the merit
" of your work; for it was a thing that I could
" myself judge of, and I asked nothing more.
" Since I have become acquainted with your
" charts, and am enabled to form a correct notion
" of their valuable classification, and the indeli-
" ble impression which they are calculated to
" make on the memory, with regard to dates,
" places, and collateral relations, I regret not
" having established a kind of Normal School, in
" which the students should have been uniformly
" instructed by the help of the Historical Atlas.
" Our Lyceums would have been inundated with
" your work, or parts of it, and I would have en-
" sured to it the utmost degree of celebrity.
" Why, I say again, did you not call my atten-
" tion to it? It is painful to confess the secret;
" but it is nevertheless true, that a little intrigue
" is indispensable to those who wish to gain the

" favour of Sovereigns; modest merit is almost " always neglected. But, perhaps, after all " Clarke, Decrès, Montalivet, M. de Montes " quiou, or even Barbier, my librarian, might " have withheld the hints which you intended " they should throw out to me; for it is another " mortifying truth, that favours are sometimes " more attainable through the medium of the " *valet-de-chambre* than by a higher channel! And " how happened it, that your friend Madame de " S . . . . . did not speak to me of your work? " We frequently rode in the same carriage toge- " ther; and she might have secured to you all the " advantages she could have wished, by describ- " ing your real merits to me."—" Yes, Sire," I replied, " but at that time I . . . . ." " I under- " stand you. You did not then perhaps seek " favours?" " Sire, my hour had not yet arrived." Then ensued a very long explanation respecting my first introduction to the Emperor, the missions to which he had appointed me, the opinion he had formed of me, and which, according to custom, had remained permanently fixed in his mind.

All this time I was standing near the writing table in the second chamber, while the Emperor walked backward and forward through the whole length of both rooms. The subject of the conversation was to me most interesting. But to form a just conception of my feelings at this moment,

it would be necessary to look back to the time of Napoleon's power, to that period when no one dared hope to know his thoughts, or ever to suppose the possibility of conversing familiarly and confidentially with him. Such a happy circumstance would then have appeared to me a dream: and now I almost regard it as a conversation in the Elysian Fields.

"I had no correct idea of you," said the Emperor, "I had no precise knowledge of any thing "that concerned you. You had no friend near "me to commend you to my notice, and you "neglected to put yourself forward. Some of "those individuals on whom perhaps you thought "you could rely, even acted in a way prejudicial "to your interest. I knew nothing of your work; "if I had, it would have been a powerful circumstance in your favour. I was not aware that "you had, like myself, attended the military "school at Paris; that would have been another "claim to my notice.

"You had been an emigrant; you would therefore never have enjoyed my full confidence. I "knew that you had been much attached to the "Bourbons; you would therefore never have "been initiated in the great secrets of my government."—"But Sire," I replied, "your Majesty permitted me to approach your person, "you made me a Counsellor of State, and entrusted me with various missions."—"That was

" because I conceived you to be an honest man;
" and besides I am not of a distrustful dispo-
" sition. Without knowing why, I considered
" you to be a man of pure integrity in all that re-
" garded pecuniary matters. If you had only men-
" tioned a single word to me about your affair of
" the commercial licences with P . . . . . ,
" I would have instantly rendered you justice.
" But, I say again, I should never have employed
" you in any political affair."—" Then Sire," said
I, " what risk did I not run, when in Paris and
" Holland! The English were then situated with
" respect to us as we now are with respect to
" them, and influenced by my old connections,
" I ventured in spite of your regulations to for-
" ward their letters, when they appeared to me
" to contain nothing objectionable. To what
" danger should I not have been exposed had my
" conduct led to any accusation on the part of
" the Minister of Police! And yet I conceived
" that I was only making a very natural and dis-
" cretionary use of the powers with which Your
" Majesty had entrusted me and the confidence
" which you had reposed in me. I felt so satis-
" fied in my own conscience, and was so con-
" vinced of the propriety of my intentions, that
" I thought myself exempt from the observance
" of regulations which seemed not to have
" been made for me."—" Well," observed the
Emperor, " I could have conceived all this, I

" should readily have given you credit for such " an explanation of your conduct; for no one is " more ready to listen to reason than I. This " was precisely the manner in which I wished " duty to be performed; and yet it is certain " that you would have been condemned had your " conduct been the subject of enquiry, because " all would have raised their voices against you. " Such was the fatality of circumstances and the " misfortune of my situation. Besides, when " once I conceived a prejudice, I retained it: " this again was the misfortune of my situation " and my circumstances. But how could it be " otherwise? I had no time for details. I could " only take into consideration summaries and ab- " stracts. I was very sure that I might sometimes " be deceived; but where was my alternative? " Few sovereigns have done better than I."

" Sire," said I, " I experienced deep mortifi- " cation, at finding that your Majesty never ad- " dressed a word to me at your court circles and " levees. And yet you never failed to speak of " me to my wife when I happened to be absent: " I sometimes thought that I was not well known " to you, or feared, particularly during latter " times, that your Majesty had some cause to be " displeased with me."—" By no means," resumed the Emperor; " If I spoke of you when " absent, it was because I made it a rule always " to speak to ladies about their husbands when

" the latter were sent on missions. If I neglected
" you when present, it was because I attached
" too little value to you. It was the same with
" many other individuals; you were confounded
" with the mass, you held only an ordinary rank
" in my regard. You were permitted to approach
" me, and yet you did not turn this privilege to
" good account; you were sent on missions, and
" yet you neglected to reap the benefit of these
" appointments on your return home. It is a
" great fault to keep in the back ground at court.
" To my eyes you were in fact a mere blank.
" Nevertheless I recollect that I sometimes en-
" tertained thoughts of employing you. The in-
" dividual connected with the ministry, on whom
" you, in some measure depended, who declared
" himself to be your friend, and who had it in
" his power to serve you, averted my attention
" from you, and contributed to keep up my in-
" difference towards you. He knew you well,
" and perhaps feared you; and it is well known
" that in all cases I went rapidly to work."—
" Sire," I replied, " my situation was the more
" painful since my friends were constantly con-
" gratulating me on the favours which I received
" at Court, and predicting the brilliant fortune
" that awaited me. Reports were continually
" raised of my having been appointed to all sorts
" of posts:—sometimes it was asserted that I had
" been created Maritime Prefect of Brest, Toulon,

" or Antwerp; that I had been made Minister of " the Interior or of the Marine; or that I had " received an important trust connected with the " education of the King of Rome, &c."—" Well," said the Emperor, " now that you call the matter " to my recollection, some of these reports were " not entirely destitute of foundation. I certainly " did entertain the idea of employing you to " assist in the education of the King of Rome; " and I also intended on your return to Holland, " to appoint you to be Maritime Prefect of Tou- " lon, which at that time I regarded as a sort of " ministry. There were five and twenty ships of " the line in the roads, and I wished to augment " their number. In this instance, your friend, " the Minister, turned my attention from you. " You belonged to the old navy, he observed; " your prejudices and those of the new officers " must inevitably clash together. This appeared " to me a decided objection to your appointment, " and I thought no more about you; but now, " since I have come to know you, I find that you " were precisely the man I wanted. I think too, " that I entertained some other ideas respecting " your advancement; but I must again repeat " that you neglected your own interests. You " retreated when you ought to have marched " forward. Need I tell you, that with the best in- " tentions on my part, the chance against procur- " ing an appointment to an important post was as

" great as that of winning a prize in the lottery. " An idea occurred to me, and I formed my de- " cision; but if that decision were not immedi- " ately carried into effect, it escaped my recol- " lection; for I had so much business on my " hands. A luckier candidate was then proposed, " and he was installed in office."—" But I in- " terrupt you . . . . . .

" Sire," continued I, " being ignorant of your " Majesty's good intentions with respect to me, " I was placed in a situation truly ridiculous, " amidst the numerous congratulations that I " received. I endeavoured to extricate myself " from all this embarrassment with the best pos- " sible grace; but the more efforts I made for " this purpose, the more I was blamed for my " modesty. I never asked your Majesty for " more than one thing, and that was the situation " of Master of Requests, which was immediately granted to me. Clarke reproached me with " having lowered my dignity by making such a " solicitation. He said I should have asked to " have been made a Counsellor of State; and " that your Majesty would have granted my re- " quest."—" No," replied the Emperor, " I did " not know you well enough for that. I should " have looked upon such a request as the result " of silly ambition."—" Sire," I observed, " I " had sufficient tact to guess what your opinion " would be."—" Well," continued the Emperor,

" that was odd enough. But perhaps Clarke was " right after all. The solicitation of the inferior " post of Master of Requests might have injured " you in my opinion; that is to say, it might " have tended to fix you in the rank in which I " had classed you. I was very well pleased to " see my chamberlains have something to do; " but Master of Requests was too trivial a post. " It is curious," continued he, " how my memory " revives, now that I am speaking on this sub- " ject. You had performed detached services, " which had rapidly escaped my recollection, " because my attention had never been directed " to them. If they had been presented to my " notice all in a mass, they must have given me " a very different opinion of you. You served as " a volunteer at Flushing. I knew this; and " what I should have regarded as a mere matter " of course in any other individual, forcibly struck " me in an emigrant, who had for this purpose " quitted his family, and who was not without " fortune."—" Sire, I received the most grati- " fying reward on my return. Your Majesty " spoke to me on the subject."—" But," said he, " you suffered this to be lost in the flood of ob- " livion. You addressed several written com- " munications to me. All these things occur to " my recollection by degrees. You transmitted " to me some plans respecting the Adriatic Sea, " with which I was much pleased. The sugges-

" tion was to get possession of the Adriatic, and " to establish a fleet there. Ships could have " been built at no vast expense, with the wood " produced in the immense forests of Croatia. " I submitted the whole to the Minister, who " never more mentioned the subject to me. But " you presented some other things to my notice." —" Sire, you probably allude to the ideas re- " specting the system of maritime warfare to be " adopted against England, accompanied by an " explanatory map."—" Yes, I recollect. The " map lay for several days on the desk in my " closet. I expressed a wish to see you; but " you were absent on a mission."

" Sire, about the same time I had the honour " to address to you a plan for transforming the " Champ-de-Mars into a *Naumachia*, which " would have been an ornament to the palace of " the King of Rome. I proposed that the basin " should be dug sufficiently deep to admit the " launching of small corvettes which might have " been built, rigged, manned and worked by the " pupils of the naval school, which, according to " my plan was to be established at the military " school. All the Princes of the Imperial house " might have been required to devote themselves " to these naval exercises for the space of two " years, whatever might have been their ultimate " destination. Your Majesty might have induced " the distinguished families of the empire, thus to

" procure for their sons a knowledge of naval " affairs. I doubted not, but that all these cir- " cumstances combined, and the spectacle pre- " sented to the capital, would infallibly have " rendered the navy at once popular and na- " tional in France."—" Ah ! I was not aware of " the extent of your plan," said the Emperor, in whose mind every idea immediately became magnified. " This design would have pleased " me. It might have produced immense results. " From this plan there was but a step to that of " rendering the Seine navigable, and cutting a " canal from Paris to the sea. This could not " have been regarded as too stupendous an enter- " prize ; for more was done by the Romans of " ancient times, and more has already been " effected by the Chinese of the present day. It " would have afforded a pastime to the army in " time of peace. I had conceived many plans of " the same kind. But our enemies kept me " chained to war. Of what glory have they " robbed me! . . . . But continue."—" Sire, I " also submitted to your Majesty's consideration " some ideas respecting the completion of the " naval schools."—" Did I adopt them in the " schools which I established ;" inquired the Em- peror. " Did your opinions coincide with mine ?" " Sire, the plans for your schools were already " determined on ; I merely suggested a few hints " for their completion."—" Oh, now I recollect

" something of the matter. But I think your " ideas were a little too democratic; were they " not ?"—" No Sire, I set out from the principle " that your Majesty had provided for the exclu- " sive competition of the intermediate class, and " I proposed to add below it, all the chances " that might be presented by the competition of " seamen; and above it, all the chances that " might arise out of the competition of indi- " viduals connected with the Court."—" Yes, I " recollect," said the Emperor, " your ideas " were novel and singular, and they attracted my " attention. I submitted the plan to the Minis- " ter, who either kept it for his own use, or " turned it into ridicule. I also remember that " in the correspondence relative to your mission " to Holland, which I ordered to be laid before " me, there was mentioned a plan for removing " our ships from the German ocean to the Baltic, " by means of canals, which should unite the " Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. This idea " pleased me; it was after my own taste. And " on your return, seeing you at my levee, I was " about to propose to you some measure for the " execution of your plan. But you did not seem " to comprehend my questions, or you gave me " unsatisfactory and undecided answers. I con- " cluded that the ideas had probably been sug- " gested by some one else, and that you were " taking credit for them. I therefore left you,

" and turned to speak to your neighbour. I was " to blame for acting thus precipitately; but I " could not help it.

" When I call to mind all these circumstances, " I find that I had so many motives for bestow- " ing attention on you, that I am astonished I " should have neglected you; and I cannot help " thinking that you must have manœuvred ad- " mirably, before you could have succeeded in " withdrawing yourself so completely from my " notice. It is very certain that all these facts " have but just now occurred to me; and at the " period of our departure, and some time after, " you were, with the exception of your name " and person, a stranger to me. I looked upon " you as an individual of whom I knew nothing. " How do you account for this? You cannot " perhaps explain it; but it is nevertheless " true.

" I ask again, why you did not avail yourself of " the good offices of your friends; or why you " did not appeal to me in person?"—" Sire, those " who enjoyed the privilege of approaching most " nearly to your person, were intent only on " advancing their own interests. Their friend- " ship did not extend beyond mere good wishes. " To speak a word for another, was what they " called using their influence; and that was re- " served solely for their own advantage. Be- " sides even though I had had the opportunity

" of speaking for myself, I should always have " preferred others to speak for me. You, Sire, " had but little leisure, your arrangements were " very uncertain, it was necessary to explain " every thing to you in few words :—At the same " time, I had so little confidence in myself, and " was so fearful of creating an unfavourable im- " pression, that I preferred withdrawing myself " from your notice. For it was not sufficient to " enter into intrigue ; it was necessary that the " intrigue should be brought to a result."— " Perhaps it was as well after all," said the Emperor. " You have judged the matter rightly ; " for even had I known as much of you as I now " do, your reserve and timidity would perhaps " have ruined you. I now recollect a circum- " stance, which probably operated to your pre- " judice. When M. de Montesquiou proposed " you as a chamberlain, he represented you as " being possessed of vast fortune ; but I soon " learned the contrary. I do not mean to say " that this circumstance was in any way inju- " rious to you, or that it afforded any ground of " objection to you personally ; but other indi- " viduals, who wished to be appointed Chamber- " lains, complained of not having been preferred " on account of their superior fortune, or quoted " your example, if they thought themselves neg- " lected on the score of their poverty. This is " the way at Court."

"It appears evident Sire, that with my cha-
"racter, I was destined never to be known to
"your Majesty."—"Yes," said the Emperor,
"and it had nearly happened so. But yet, on
"my return did I not appoint you a Chamber-
"lain? and their number was very limited. Did
"I not immediately create you a Counsellor of
"State? You had been a member of the old
"aristocracy, you had been an emigrant, and you
"had undergone great trials; all these were
"powerful recommendations to me. Besides, at
"that time, so many voices were raised in praise
"of your conduct, that sooner or later I must
"have known you thoroughly."

Arrival of the Library.—Hornemann's testimony in favour of General Bonaparte.

22d.—To-day the weather was very bad. The Emperor sent for me about three o'clock. He was in the topographical cabinet, surrounded by all the individuals of his suite, who were engaged in unpacking some boxes of books which had arrived by the Newcastle. The Emperor himself helped to unpack, and seemed to be highly amused with the occupation. Men naturally model themselves to their circumstances: their enjoyments are trivial in proportion as their sufferings are severe. On seeing the file of Moniteurs, which had been so long expected, he ex-

pressed unfeigned delight: he took it up and began eagerly to peruse it.

After dinner the Emperor looked over Park's and Hornemann's Travels in Africa, and he traced their course on my Atlas. In these narratives, Hornemann, and the African Society of London, bore ample testmony to the generous assistance they had received from the General-in-chief of the army of Egypt, (Napoleon) who had seized every opportunity of promoting their discoveries. The polite and handsome manner in which these facts were mentioned was very gratifying to the Emperor, who had been long accustomed to find his name connected with insulting epithets.

On memory.—Trade.—Napoleon's ideas and plans on several points of political economy.

23rd.—I attended the Emperor about three o'clock. He had been so delighted at the receipt of his new books, that he had passed the whole night in reading and dictating notes to Marchand. He was very much fatigued; but my visit afforded him a little respite. He dressed and went out to walk in the garden.

During dinner the Emperor alluded to his immense reading in his youth; and he found from all the books he had perused relative to Egypt; that he had scarcely any thing to correct

in what he had dictated on Egypt; he had stated many facts which he had not read; but which, on reference to these books, he found to be correct.

The conversation turned on the subject of memory. The Emperor remarked, that a head without memory was like a garrison without fortifications. His he said was a useful kind of memory. It was not general and absolute; but relative, faithful, and only retentive of what was necessary. Some one present observed, that his own memory was like his sight, that it became confused by the distance of places and objects as he removed from one situation to another; upon which the Emperor replied, that for his part his memory was like his heart, that it preserved a faithful impression of all that ever had been dear to him.

A propos of good memory and fond recollections, I must here note down a remark of the Emperor, which I omitted to mention at the time it was made. One day at dinner, while describing one of his engagements in Egypt, he named numerically the eight or ten demi-brigades which had been engaged. On hearing this, Madame Bertrand could not refrain from asking how, after so long a lapse of time, he could pos sibly recollect all these numbers. "Madam, this "is a lover's recollection of his former mistresses;" was Napoleon's reply.

After dinner the Emperor ordered my Atlas to be brought to him, for the purpose of verifying the particulars which he had collected in his books on Africa, and he was astonished to find every thing correspond so accurately.

He then began to converse on trade, and the principles and systems which he had introduced. He opposed the principles of economists, which he said were correct in theory though erroneous in their application. The political constitution of different states, continued he, must render these principles defective; local circumstances continually call for deviations from their uniformity. Duties, he said, which were so severely condemned by political economists, should not, it is true, be an object to the treasury: they should be the guarantee and protection of a nation, and should correspond with the nature and the objects of its trade. Holland, which is destitute of productions and manufactures, and which was a trade only of transit and commission, should be free of all fetters and barriers. France, on the contrary, which is rich in every sort of production and manufactures, should incessantly guard against the importations of a rival, who might still continue superior to her, and also against the cupidity, egotism, and indifference of mere brokers.

"I have not fallen into the error of modern "systematizers," said the Emperor, "who ima-

" gine that all the wisdom of nations is centered
" in themselves. Experience is the true wisdom
" of nations. And what does all the reasoning
" of economists amount to? They incessantly
" extol the prosperity of England, and hold her
" up as our model; but the Custom-House sys-
" tem is more burthensome and arbitrary in
" England than in any other country. They also
" condemn prohibitions; yet it was England set
" the example of prohibitions, and they are in
" fact necessary with regard to certain objects.
" Duties cannot adequately supply the place of
" prohibitions: there will always be found means
" to defeat the object of the legislator. In France
" we are still very far behind on these delicate
" points, which are still unperceived or ill-under-
" stood by the mass of society. Yet what
" advancement have we not made,—what cor-
" rectness of ideas has been introduced by my
" gradual classification of agriculture, industry,
" and trade; objects so distinct in themselves,
" and which present so great and positive
" a graduation!

" 1st.—*Agriculture;* the soul, the first basis of
" the empire.

" 2nd.—*Industry;* the comfort and happiness of
" the population.

" 3rd-—*Foreign trade;* the superabundance, the
" proper application of the surplus of agriculture
" and industry.

" Agriculture was continually improving dur-
" ing the whole course of the revolution. Fo-
" reigners thought it ruined in France. In 1814,
" however, the English were compelled to admit
" that we had little or nothing to learn from them.

" Industry or manufactures, and internal trade,
" made immense progress during my reign. The
" application of chemistry to the manufactures
" caused them to advance with giant strides. I
" gave an impulse, the effects of which extended
" throughout Europe.

" Foreign trade, which in its results is infi-
" nitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of
" subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign
" trade is made for agriculture and home industry,
" and not the two latter for the former. The
" interests of these three fundamental cases are
" diverging and frequently conflicting. I always
" promoted them in their natural gradation; but
" I could not and ought not to have ranked them
" all on an equality. Time will unfold what I
" have done, the national resources which I
" created, and the emancipation from the Eng-
" lish which I brought about. We have now the
" secret of the commercial treaty of 1783. France
" still exclaims against its author; but the Eng-
" lish demanded it on pain of resuming the
" war. They wished to do the same after the
" treaty of Amiens; but I was then all-powerful;
" I was a hundred cubits high. I replied that if

" they were in possession of the heights of Mont-
" martre I would still refuse to sign the treaty.
" These words we echoed through Europe.

" The English will now impose some such
" treaty on France, at least if popular clamour,
" and the opposition of the mass of the nation,
" do not force them to draw back. This thral-
" dom would be an additional disgrace in the
" eyes of that nation, which is now beginning to
" acquire a just perception of her own interests.

" When I came to the head of the government,
" the American ships, which were permitted to
" enter our ports on the score of their neutrality,
" brought us raw materials, and had the impu-
" dence to sail from France without freight, for
" the purpose of taking in cargoes of English
" goods in London. They moreover had the in-
" solence to make their payments, when they had
" any to make, by giving bills on persons in
" London. Hence the vast profits reaped by the
" English manufacturers and brokers, entirely to
" our prejudice. I made a law that no American
" should import goods to any amount, without
" immediately exporting their exact equivalent.
" A loud outcry was raised against this: it was
" said that I had ruined trade. But what was the
" consequence? Notwithstanding the closing of
" my ports, and in spite of the English who ruled
" the seas, the Americans returned and submitted

" to my regulations. What might I not have " done under more favourable circumstances ?

" Thus I naturalized in France the manufac- " ture of cotton, which includes :—

" 1st *Spun-cotton.*—We did not previously spin " it ourselves ; the English supplied us with it " as a sort of favour.

" 2d. *The web.*—We did not yet make it ; it " came to us from abroad.

" 3d. *The printing.*—This was the only part of " the manufacture that we performed ourselves. " I wished to naturalize the two first branches ; " and I proposed to the Council of State, that " their importation should be prohibited. This " excited great alarm. I sent for Oberkamp, " and I conversed with him a long time. I " learned from him, that this prohibition would " doubtless produce a shock, but that after a " year or two of perseverance, it would prove a " triumph, whence we should derive immense " advantages. Then I issued my decree in spite " of all ; this was a true piece of statesmanship.

" I at first confined myself merely to prohibit- " ing the web ; then I extended the prohibition " to spun cotton ; and we now possess within " ourselves the three branches of the cotton ma- " nufacture to the great benefit of our population, " and the injury and regret of the English :— " which proves that in civil government as well

" as in war, decision of character is often indis-
" pensable to success. I offered a million of
" francs as a reward for the discovery of a me-
" thod of spinning flax like cotton, and this dis-
" covery would undoubtedly have been made,
" but for our unfortunate circumstances. I should
" then have prohibited cotton if I could not have
" naturalized it on the continent.

" The encouragement of the production of silk
" was an object that equally claimed my atten-
" tion. As Emperor of France and King of Italy
" I calculated on receiving an annual revenue of
" 120 millions from the production of silk.

" The system of commercial licences was no
" doubt mischievous! Heaven forbid that I should
" have laid it down as a principle. It was the
" invention of the English; with me it was only
" a momentary resource. Even the continental
" system, in its extent and rigour, was by me
" regarded merely as a measure occasioned by
" the war and temporary circumstances.

" The difficulties and even the total stagnation
" of foreign trade during my reign, arose out of
" the force of circumstances and the accidents of
" the time. One brief interval of peace would
" immediately have restored it to its natural
" level."

Artillery.—Its use.—Its defects.—Old Schools.

24th.—The Emperor informed us that he had spent full four and twenty hours in reading the Moniteur on the subject of the Constituent Assembly. He said he had found these accounts as amusing as a romance; they mark the first rise of those men, who had, at a later period played so distinguished a part. However, he said it was necessary to have an idea of the external springs of action, otherwise the reports of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly lost much of their interest, and were frequently unintelligible. The spirit of the first moments, the first interests of the Revolution remained entirely hidden.

After dinner the Emperor conversed on the subject of Artillery. He had wished for more uniformity and less of sub-division in the pieces. The general was often unable to judge of the best mode of employing them, and nothing could be superior to the advantages of uniformity in all the instruments and accessaries of war.

The Emperor observed that in general the artillery did not fire sufficiently in a battle. The principal consideration in war is, that there should be no want of ammunition. When there is an actual scarcity, of course that forms an exception; but in every other case, it is necessary to fire incessantly. The Emperor, who had him-

self often been nearly killed by spent balls, and who knew how important such an event would have been to the fate of the battle or the campaign, maintained the propriety of firing continually, without calculating expense. Moreover, he said, that if he wished to avoid the post of danger, he would station himself at the distance of 300 toises, rather than at 600. At the first mentioned point, the balls frequently pass over the head; but the latter they must fall some where or other.

He remarked, that it was impossible to make artillery fire on masses of infantry, when they were themselves assailed by an opposite battery. This arises from natural cowardice said he, good humouredly, from the irresistible instinct of self-preservation. An artillery officer who was among us protested against this observation.—"It is "nevertheless true," continued the Emperor "you immediately stand on your guard against "the enemy who attacks you. You seek to "destroy him lest he should destroy you. You "often relinquish your firing, that he may cease "to harass you, and direct his charge against the "masses of infantry who are of much greater "importance to the fate of the battle."

The Emperor frequently adverted to the corps of artillery in which he had served in his youth. He said it was the best constituted corps in Europe. It was a sort of family service. The offi-

cers were quite of a paternal turn; the bravest and worthiest men in the world; pure as gold. They were somewhat too far advanced in life, because the peace had continued too long. The young men laughed at them because sarcasm and irony were the fashion of the day; but they adored them, and never failed to render justice to their merits.*

25th.—We have received the third and last package of books brought by the frigate. The Emperor has greatly fatigued himself by assisting in unpacking and arranging them.

About three o'clock several persons were presented to the Emperor; among others the Admiral and his lady. The Emperor was indisposed, and he dined in his own chamber attended by the Grand Marshal.

My directions and last wishes respecting the printing of the Campaign of Italy.—The Emperor's opinion of General Drouot.—On the battle of Hohenlinden.

26th.—The Emperor sent for me and my son, and set us to look over the Moniteurs for the purpose of comparing and completing the manuscripts of the Campaigns of Italy.

The Emperor, though he had announced his intention of doing so, had not yet resumed his

* Napoleon, in his will, has given proof of this sentiment by a bequest in favour of his old chief of artillery or his children.

dictations, and I rejoiced at a circumstance which promised at length to excite renewed interest.

Our business was to select from the Moniteur all the reports and official letters, for the purpose of vouchers. The Emperor wished them to be properly classed, and desired us to make a computation of their extent, in order that he might be able to calculate at once the space they would occupy when printed, reminding me at the same time that these were henceforth my own affairs; that I should only be serving myself for the future. Delightful words, to which the tone of his voice, his familiar air, and his whole expression, imparted even more value than was conveyed in their meaning!

The Emperor so often repeated to me that this account of the Campaigns of Italy should bear my name, and that he made me a present of it, that I may perhaps be allowed to indulge my dreams respecting their future publication, and to set down here my ideas on the subject, in order that they may be followed up by my son, if I should not myself be enabled to carry them into effect.

The Emperor has presented me with a valuable, a magnificent, a national monument; I must not compromise, or degrade it. There must be no speculations on the subject, and above all, no considerations of pecuniary advantage must be permitted to operate to its detriment. Nor is

this all: it is moreover my wish to bestow on it all those peculiar attentions and marks of sentiment to which it is entitled.

Therefore, 1st. To keep the copyright of the work, which will form at least four volumes.

2d. The printing to be superintended, and its expenses to be defrayed by me or my son.

3rd. To endeavour to get the plans drawn by officers of the army of Italy; and to get the work printed, and if possible sold, by persons who have served in the same army. This happy coincidence would be most gratifying to me.

4th. As there is not a word in the whole narrative which has not proceeded from the Emperor's mouth, as it is throughout his own dictation, I am anxious that it should not, under any pretext whatever, undergo the slightest alteration or correction, unless by means of notes, which should at the same time explain the reason for such alteration.

5th. To compose an introduction to it from a recapitulation of all that I have collected in my journal relative to the first years of the Emperor's life, previous to the commencement of the campaign.

6th. To prepare 100 copies in the most splendid style possible, without any regard to expense; to be sold, whatever may be their intrinsic value, at 1000 *francs each*. To all these copies may be attached not a *fac-simile*, but a few lines of the

real hand-writing of Napoleon, of which I have a certain quantity in my possession.

7th. To keep in reserve a second hundred of copies similar to the preceding; to be afterwards sold, when the former are disposed of at 500 *francs each*.

8th. After these 200 copies, to print the rest only on the commonest paper and at the cheapest rate, so that the work may be sold at a very low price. Every invalid of the army of Italy will receive it gratis, every wounded soldier shall purchase it at half-price, and to every officer it shall be sold at one-fourth less than its cost.

9th. To enter into an agreement with an English, a German, a Russian, an Italian, and a Spanish bookseller, so as to ensure to them the publication of a translation before the rest of the trade, without any other return on their part, than the obligation of taking 500 French copies, or pledging themselves, should they prefer it, to circulate the 500 finest copies of their edition, with the French text opposite the translation.

10th. Lastly, if the produce of the work will allow of it, to print as a complement and continuation, the lists of the army of Italy, which may no doubt be procured from the records of the War Department. If my son should entertain other ideas on the subject, or should have others suggested to him, he may blend them with these, or give them the preference, if they deserve

it. A sure method of obtaining hints, and avoiding mistakes on this subject, would be to form a small Committee of members of the army of Italy, who would all feel equal interest in the work.

To-day, during dinner, the Emperor again reviewed the character of his Generals. He passed an eulogium on several of them, the greater number of whom are now no more. He bestowed the highest praise on the talents of General Drouot. Every thing in life is a problem, said he; it is only by what is known that we can come at what is unknown. He observed, that he knew to a certainty that General Drouot possessed every quality necessary to make a great General. He had sufficient reasons for supposing him superior to many of his Marshals. He had no hesitation in believing him capable of commanding 100,000 men. "And perhaps," added he, "he "was far from thinking so himself, which, after "all, can only be regarded as an additional good "quality."

He again alluded to the prodigious valour of Murat and Ney, whose courage, he said, so often preceded their judgment, that they might have been capable of the greatest absurdities if it could have been supposed possible, in a case in which they had well considered the danger. Such is the mystery, said he, of certain actions in certain individuals: the inequality between temper and understanding explains all.

The conversation turned on the battle of Hohenlinden. The Emperor remarked, that it was one of those great triumphs that are brought about by chance, and obtained without plan. Moreau, he repeated, was destitute of invention; he was not sufficiently decided; and, therefore, he was most fit to be employed on the defensive. Hohenlinden was a confused sort of affair; the enemy had been unexpectedly attacked amidst his own operations, and was conquered by troops whom he had himself penetrated and nearly destroyed. The merit rested chiefly with the troops and generals of the partisan corps, who had been most exposed to danger, and who had fought like heroes.

When speaking of the campaigns of Italy, we observed to the Emperor, that the rapid succession of his daily victories, which filled the mouth of fame, must have been a source of great delight to him.—"By no means," replied he. "But at least they were supposed to have been "so by those who were at a distance from the "scene of conflict."—"That may be; those who "were at a distance knew only our success; "they knew nothing of our situation. If those "victories could have procured me pleasure, I "should have enjoyed repose. But I had al-"ways the aspect of danger before me, and the "victory of to-day was speedily forgotten through "the obligation of gaining another to-morrow."

I recollect having heard a distinguished General, (Lamarque), deliver a very characteristic opinion of Moreau. Lamarque had been much attached to Moreau, and had for a long time served under him. He was endeavouring to make me understand the different tactics of Moreau and Napoleon, he said:—"Had their two "armies been in presence, and there had been "sufficient time to move, I would have entered "the ranks of Moreau, which were sure to be "managed with the utmost regularity, precision, "and calculation. On these points, it was im- "possible to excel, or even to equal Moreau. But "if the two armies had approached within a hun- "dred leagues of each other, the Emperor would "have routed the enemy three, four, or five times "over, before the latter could have had time to "reconnoitre his forces."

Annoyance by the Rats.—Lord Castlereagh's impostures.—French heiresses.

Thursday, 27th.—We had nearly gone without our breakfast: an incursion made by the rats, who had entered our kitchen from several points during the night, had deprived us of every thing eatable. We are much infested with these animals; they are of enormous size, and very daring and mischievous; it took them very little time to penetrate our walls and floors. Attracted by the

smell of the victuals, they could make their way into our drawing-room whilst we were at dinner. We were several times obliged to give them battle after the dessert; and one evening, when the Emperor wished to retire, and his hat was handed to him, a rat of the largest size jumped out of it. Our grooms had tried to rear some poultry, but they were compelled to abandon the attempt, because the rats devoured all the fowls. They would even seize them in the night on their perches.

The Emperor was this day translating some review or journal, in which it was mentioned that Lord Castlereagh had asserted at a public meeting that Napoleon, even since his fall, had not hesitated to declare, that as long as he had reigned, he would have continued to make war against England, having never had any object but that of her destruction.

The Emperor could not help feeling provoked by these words. "Lord Castlereagh," said he, with indignation, "must be much accustomed to "lying, and must place great dependence on the "credulity of his auditors. Can their own good "sense allow them to believe that I could ever "make such a foolish speech, even if I had had "such intentions!"

It was afterwards stated that Lord Castlereagh had said, in Parliament, that the reason why the French army was so much attached to Bonaparte, was, that he made a kind of conscription

of all the heiresses of the empire, and then distributed them amongst his generals. "Here "again," observed the Emperor, "Lord Castle- "reagh tells a wilful falsehood. He came amongst "us; he had an opportunity of seeing our man- "ners and laws, and of knowing the truth; he "must be certain that such a thing was quite "impracticable, and out of my power. What "does he take our nation for? The French were "never capable of submitting to such tyranny. "I have, no doubt, made a great number of "matches; and I would gladly have made thou- "sands more; it was one of the most effectual "methods of amalgamating and uniting irrecon- "cileable factions. If I had had more time to "myself, I would have taken great pains to ex- "tend these unions to the provinces, and even to "the confederation of the Rhine, in order to "strengthen the connection of those distant por- "tions of the empire with France; but in such "proceedings I only exerted my influence, and "never my authority. Lord Castlereagh disre- "gards such distinctions; it is important to his "policy to render me odious; he is not scrupu- "lous about the means; he does not shrink "from any calumny; he has every advantage "over me. I am in chains; he has taken all "precautions for keeping my mouth shut, and "preventing the possibility of my making any "reply, and I am a thousand leagues from the

"scene of action; his position is commanding; "nothing stands in his way. But certainly this "conduct is the *ne plus ultra* of impudence, base- "ness, and cowardice."

I shall now introduce an instance which may serve to prove the truth of the foregoing assertion of Napoleon with respect to French heiresses. I had the account from the mouth of the person chiefly interested.

M. d'Aligre had a daughter who was heiress to immense property: the Emperor conceived the idea of marrying her to M. de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, for whom he had such a particular regard, that he was looked upon as a kind of favourite. His personal qualities, no less than his high official employment, rendered him one of the first personages in the empire. The Emperor, therefore, never imagined that there could be the slightest impediment to this union. He sent for M. d'Aligre, who often came to Court, and made his request; but M. d'Aligre had other views, and declined the alliance. Napoleon urged it in every possible way, but M. d'Aligre remained immoveable. From his manner of relating the affair to me, it was evident that he thought he had shewn great courage, and, in fact, he deserved the credit of having done so, for he imagined, like all of us, that it was very dangerous to thwart the Emperor's inclinations. We were, however, all deceived; we did not know Napo-

leon. I am now convinced that the justice due to individuals, and family rights in particular, are sacred to him, and I never heard that M. d'Aligre suffered any inconvenience whatever through his refusal.

After dinner the Emperor tried some of Pigault Le Brun's romances, and others of the same kind; but in vain: after turning over a few pages of each, he rejected them all, saying that they were all in very bad taste.

The Governor's statements respecting the expenses at Longwood, &c.

Friday, 28th.—Towards one o'clock the Emperor sent for me and my son. We carried him the first chapter of the Campaigns of Italy, with our last work completing it. He detained us until almost six o'clock.

The Governor had paid a visit to the Grand Marshal, and in a vague manner given him reason to expect some reductions at Longwood. He had stated, with some simplicity, that it had been expected at London, that the permission which had been offered us to return to Europe, would have greatly diminished the Emperor's domestic circle. He had also said, without being well understood by the Grand Marshal, that if we had any private property, we might avail ourselves of our own money, by drawing upon ourselves, as I

had already done, &c. His government, he said, had never intended to allow the Emperor more than a table for four persons daily at most, and company to dine once a-week. What a statement! Is it possible that he meant to insinuate that, with respect to us, we ought to pay for our maintenance, and contribute, for the future, to the expenses of the establishment? Let it not be thought incredible; we learn here, daily, to believe that there is nothing impossible.

The Emperor, afterwards, reverting to a book he had been reading, in which was a story of an Irish lady, respecting whom Goldsmith had abused him violently, recollected well, he said, that being at Bayonne, at the Chateau de Marrach, when the city of Bourdeaux gave him a *fête*, he saw by the side of the Empress Josephine, a charming countenance, of the most perfect beauty, with which he was forcibly struck. The impression she had made did not pass unperceived. She had been instructed and prepared before hand by some one nearly related to her; and "God "knows," said the Emperor, "with what inten-"tions." She was a Miss *****, afterwards Madame ***, a new reader to the Empress Josephine, whom she attended to the Chateau de Marrach, and might very possibly have had great success. She already occupied Napoleon's thoughts, when M. de Lavalette, who was at the head of the secret department of the post-office,

destroyed the charm. He sent, direct to the Emperor, a letter addressed to this young lady. It was from her mother or her aunt, an Irishwoman, and contained minute directions for the part she was to play, and particularly urged her by all means to contrive to secure such a living pledge as might prolong her empire, or at least secure her great influence. "On this perusal," said the Emperor, "all illusion vanished. The "coarseness of the intrigue, the turpitude of the "details, the style, the hand which had writ-"ten the letter; but, above all, her being a fo-"reigner, produced immediate disgust; and the "pretty little Irish girl was, in fact, as Gold-"smith says, put into a post-chaise and suddenly "packed off to Paris. And here I find," continued Napoleon, "a libel imputing this to me as "a crime, when, in fact, it was much rather a "virtue in me; an act of continence, of which I "might, perhaps, boast with much more reason "than the famous Scipio. But this is the way "in which history is written."

After dinner, when we were debating what we should read, the Emperor said, that since we confessed we had not wit enough to relate each his tale or story, we ought at least to be condemned to choose, by turns, our evening's reading; and he began by naming for his part, the poem of *la Pitié*, by the Abbé Delille. He thought the verses good, the language pure, the ideas agree-

able; nevertheless, he observed, it was destitute of imagination or warmth. It was, undoubtedly, superior in versification to Voltaire; but still far beneath our other great masters.

Saturday, 29th.—The Emperor breakfasted in the garden, and invited us all. After breakfast he took an airing in the calash. He was in good spirits, and rallied us all in our turns. One he complimented on the beauty and elegance of his apartments, another on the sums which the Governor had paid for him, and which would soon be increased by a handsome stock of childbed linen; me he congratulated on the taste the Governor seemed to have for my bills of exchange, which had induced his Excellency to wish the rest to draw bills likewise. He laughed, and was highly amused with our remarks on each other. The weather suddenly changed, and obliged him to return home.

After dinner the Emperor read some passages of Milton, translated by the Abbé Delille. He thought the versification very inferior to the poem of *la Pitié;* and in fact it was a work prescribed to the author, written during his emigration, whilst at London, and published by subscription.

During the whole of our morning's ride, the conversation turned on our kings and their mistresses: Mesdames de Montespan, de Pompadour, Dubarry, &c. The principle was warmly discussed, opinions were at variance, and were

obstinately defended. The Emperor amused himself with fluctuating alternately from one opinion to another. He concluded, however, by deciding in favour of morality.

Political History of the Court of London during our emigration—George III.—Mr. Pitt—The Prince of Wales.—Anecdotes.—The Nassaus.—Remarkable digression of Napoleon to his own history.

Saturday, 30th.—The Emperor had me called early in the morning to breakfast with him; he was sad, gloomy, and unable to converse; he could not find words. Chance having produced the mention of London and of my emigration, the Emperor said, by way of fixing on a subject, and finding something to occupy his attention, "You "must have seen at London, the Court, the "King, the Prince of Wales, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, "and other great personages who figured at that "time? Tell me what you know of them. What "did people think of them? Give me an histori-"cal sketch."—"Sire, your Majesty forgets, or "perhaps was never precisely informed of the "situation of an emigrant at London. I doubt "whether we should have been received at Court; "the good old George III. was deeply concerned "for our personal misfortunes, but he was ex-"tremely reluctant to avow us in a political "sense. And if we could have been received "there, our means would not have enabled us to

" appear. I did not, therefore, go to Court. I " have, however, seen most of those whom your " Majesty mentions, and I have also heard them " much spoken of.

" I have seen and heard the King several times " in the House of Lords, and been very near him; " the Prince of Wales in the same place, and " also in company in the metropolis. Besides, " it is not at London as in France; we do not " find there that immense distance between the " Court and the mass of the nation; the country " is so crowded, information so general, educa- " tion so equal, affluence so common, and the " sphere of activity so rapid, that the whole na- " tion seems to be in the same place and on the " same plane; whilst in looking at this assem- " blage, which might deserve to be called distin- " guished, one is tempted to ask, *Where is the* " *people?* which is, in fact, the question that " Alexander is said to have asked at the time of " his visit to London. It follows, then, that hav- " ing seen many people of all classes, conditions, " and opinions, I must have imbibed some notions " approaching, in all probability, very near the " truth. Unluckily I was then little solicitous " about observing and collecting information; " and I am likewise fearful that the lapse of so " much time may now confuse my memory.

" George the Third was the honestest man in " his dominions; his personal virtues made him

" an object of profound veneration; an extreme
" morality, and great respect for the laws, were
" the principal characteristics of his whole life.
" He came to the throne at twenty years of age,
" and was deeply enamoured of a charming young
" Scotch lady of one of the first peerages in the
" country; it was much feared that he would
" marry her; but it was sufficient to remind him
" that it was contrary to law, and he instantly
" consented to marry the person who should be
" chosen for him. This was a princess of Meck-
" lenburg. In his grief he thought her very or-
" dinary, and in fact she was so; nevertheless
" George III. remained all his life an exemplary
" husband; he was never known to be guilty of
" the least infidelity.

" The accession of George III. was an actual
" political revolution in England: the days of
" the Pretenders were over; the house of Hanover
" was established; the Whigs who had placed
" that family on the throne were dismissed from
" administration: they were troublesome observ-
" ers, who were no longer wanted. The govern-
" ment was again seized by the Tories, those
" friends of power, who have ever since kept it,
" to the great detriment of public liberty.

" The King, however, was personally free from
" prejudice in this respect; he sincerely loved
" the laws, justice, and the welfare and prospe-
" rity of his country. The violent part taken by

" England against our French revolution, was " much less the fault of George III. than of Mr. " Pitt, who was the real firebrand. The latter " was instigated by the extreme hatred to France " which he inherited from his father the great " Chatham, and also by a strong prediliction for " power and the oligarchy. At the commence- " ment of our revolution, Mr. Pitt was the man of " the people: he governed England; he drew in " the King, who was always to be worked on by " facts; and it must be acknowledged, that the " excesses and crimes of our outset afforded very " favourable opportunities to the measures and " the eloquence of Mr. Pitt. It is probable, Sire, " that if the unfortunate George III. had retained " his reason, your Majesty would eventually have " found it greatly to your advantage, because " your reign would have presented new facts to " his observation, to which he would have yielded. " George III. had his own species and degree of " character: it was in harmony with his intellec- " tual conceptions; he wished to know things, to " be convinced. When once his mind was made " up, it was difficult to make him alter it; yet it " was not impossible; his good sense afforded " great opportunities.

" His illness was, on this account, a curse to " us, a curse to Europe, and to the English them- " selves, who begin now to give up the high opi-

" nion they once professed of Mr. Pitt, of whose " fatal errors they now feel the effects.

" It was the first attack of the King's illness " which established the reputation and credit of " Mr. Pitt. That minister was little more than " twenty-five years of age, when he ventured " alone to encounter the mass of those who de- " serted the King, and considered him lost; and " who were eager to proclaim the monarch's in- " capacity, in order to possess themselves of " power under his youthful successor. This con- " duct rendered Mr. Pitt the idol of the nation. " This was the most glorious period of his life; " and his noblest triumph was, undoubtedly, that " of conducting George III. to St. Paul's, to re- " turn thanks to God for his restoration to health, " amidst an immense concourse of people intoxi- " cated with joy and satisfaction.

" There was no doubt but that Mr. Pitt was on " this occasion the Saviour of the King, as well " as of the public peace; for experience proved " that George III. had not become incapable of " reigning again; and it was strongly suspected, " that had the regency been organized as the op- " position wished to have it, this capability would " not have been very readily acknowledged at a " subsequent period; and thus a civil war would " have been occasioned.

" I have often heard it said, that the mental

" derangement of George III. was not a com-
" mon kind of madness; that his alienation did
" not exactly arise from a local affection of the
" brain, but from the repletion of the vessels
" leading thereto; a derangement produced by a
" malady which had long been peculiar to this
" family. His disorder, it was said, was rather
" delirium than madness. When the cause was
" removed, the prince instantly recovered all his
" faculties, in as great perfection as if they had
" sustained no interruption; this circumstance
" explains his numerous relapses and restorations.
" As a proof thereof, people used to mention the
" strength of mind he must have possessed, to be
" able, immediately on his first convalescence, to
" support the pomp of the procession, attended
" by the assembled population of London, filling
" the air with acclamations.

" After his second relapse he gave another no
" less remarkable proof of this nature, by the
" calmness and *sang-froid* he evinced on being
" fired at by an assassin, as he entered his box at
" the theatre. He was so little disturbed, that
" he instantly turned to the Queen, who had just
" reached the door of the box, to tell her not to
" be alarmed, for that it was only a squib that
" had been let off in the theatre; he remained
" during the whole performance apparently un-
" moved. Here was certainly no proof of weak-
" ness. The permanence of the complaint in

"his latter years might indeed be opposed to "these facts, if it be certain that he had not long "lucid intervals.

"George III., although so worthy and well-"meaning a monarch, was several times very "near falling a victim to assassins. Several in-"stances of this kind occur in his history; and I "do not believe any of the persons implicated "suffered death, because they all appeared to be "insane—all religious or political fanatics. The "last and most famous attempt occurred, I think, "in 1800. The King went to the theatre, as he "did from time to time at that critical period, by "way of a kind of *fête*, to keep up his popularity. "As he entered his box, a man in the pit took "aim at him with a holster pistol, and the ball "only missed through the King's bowing at the "moment to salute the public. The dreadful tu-"mult that ensued may easily be conceived! The "man did not attempt to deny his crime; he was "precisely such another as the fanatic at Schoen-"brunn, who would have sacrificed your Ma-"jesty, and always maintained that he had no "other object in view than peace and the hap-"piness of his country. A jury pronounced this "man insane, and he was condemned to confine-"ment.

"During my excursion to London in 1814, a "singular chance procured me a sight of this very "assassin. My mind being still occupied with

" the mission which your Majesty had confided
" to me the preceding year, concerning the
" depôts of mendicity and houses of correction,
" I wished to see the English establishments of
" this description. Whilst I was taking a minute
" survey of Newgate, I entered an apartment in
" which I found a great number of condemned
" persons enjoying a certain degree of liberty.
" The first on whom my conductor fixed his eyes
" happened to be Hatfield, whom he pointed out
" to me, and whose name I immediately recol-
" lected, and asked if he was the man who had
" attempted to assassinate George III. It was
" the same, he said, and that he was undergoing
" the confinement to which he had been con-
" demned for his madness, in Newgate. I ob-
" served that, at the time, this madness had been
" much doubted and contested by the public, as
" it always happens in such cases. I was as-
" sured, however, that Hatfield was indisputably
" mad, but only by fits; that his madness was,
" however, so mild, that he was suffered to go
" into town, on his word; and that he was the
" first to request he might be attended to, when
" he felt that his disorder was coming on. My
" conductor then called him. Having ventured
" to ask him some questions, he immediately dis-
" covered me to be French by my accent, and
" told me he had often fought against my coun-
" trymen in Flanders. (He had served in the

" light-horse, or dragoons, under the Duke of " York.) He bore their marks, he said, shewing " me several scars; and yet, he added, he was " far from hating them, for they were brave, and " were not to blame in that affair; people had in- " sisted on meddling in their disputes, which con- " cerned themselves only. He began to grow " very warm, which induced my conductor to " make me a sign, and to send him away. We " had touched the chord of his derangement, my " conductor observed, and had we continued, " he would have become outrageous.

" But I return to George III. The predomi- " nant sentiment of that prince was the love of " the public good, and the welfare of his coun- " try. To these he always sacrificed every con- " sideration: this alone induced him to retain " Mr. Pitt so long, towards whom he felt a " strong repugnance, because he was very ill- " treated by that minister.

" The crisis was of the most vital importance to " England; the danger most imminent; the ta- " lents of the Prime Minister of a superior kind. " He was, therefore, necessary. Presuming on " the omnipotence of this circumstance over the " King's mind, Mr. Pitt ruled him tyrannically, " and without the least delicacy; he scarcely " allowed him the disposal of the most trifling " place. If there was a vacancy, and the King " wished to reward a private servant of his own,

" he was always too late; Mr. Pitt had already
" disposed of it, and for the good of the state,
" he would say—for the sake of parliamentary
" services. If the King shewed too much dissa-
" tisfaction, Mr. Pitt had one invariable answer
" constantly ready—he would resign and yield
" his place to another. At length a circumstance
" occurred of the most delicate kind, as it con-
" cerned the King's conscience, who was very
" religious; that is to say, the question of the
" emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, to
" which he obstinately refused to consent. Mr.
" Pitt insisted with equal perseverance; he was
" pledged to this measure, he said, and resorted
" to his usual threat. But the King this time
" took him at his word, and, overjoyed at his
" deliverance, repeated the same day to several
" persons, that he had now got rid of a man who
" had for twenty years been kicking at him. And
" it may not, perhaps, be useless to observe here,
" as a remarkable singularity, in contrast to
" Mr. Pitt's ill usage of the King, that George III.
" has been heard to say, that of all his ministers,
" Mr. Fox, (so much accused of republicanism,
" and perhaps not without foundation) was the
" person who, when at the head of affairs, had
" constantly shewn him the greatest delicacy,
" deference, respect, and attention.

" Nevertheless, such was the influence of the
" public interest over the King's mind, that not-

" withstanding all his aversion, he re-instated " Mr. Pitt a year after. It was thought at the " time, that when Mr. Pitt retired he had had the " address to fix Mr. Addington, a creature of his " own, in the ministry, in order to be able to " replace himself there in a short time without " difficulty; but it has since been proved that " Mr. Pitt himself was obliged to have recourse " to intrigues to overthrow his successor and ob- " tain his second administration, which, however, " was by no means worthy of him: it was filled " up with disasters which he himself had oc- " casioned. The ball that decided the victory of " Austerlitz killed him in London.

" Time daily undermines the great reputation " of Mr. Pitt, not with respect to his eminent " talents, but their fatal employment. England " groans under the calamities with which he " overwhelmed her, the most fatal of which are " the school and the doctrines he bequeathed to " her. He introduced the police into England, " accustomed the nation to an armed force, and " commenced that system of informations, snares, " and demoralization of every kind so completely " perfected by his successors.

" His great system of tactics was constantly to " excite our excesses on the Continent, and then " to hold them up as a scarecrow to England, " which immediately granted him all he wanted."

" But what did you all say to that?" asked the

Emperor: "What was the opinion of the emi-
"grants?"—"Sire," I replied, "we all constantly
"saw through the same glass; what we said the
"first day of our emigration, we still repeated on
"the last day of our exile. We had not advanced
"one step; we had become and remained a peo-
"ple by ourselves. Mr. Pitt was our oracle;
"whatever was said by him, by Burke, Wind-
"ham, or any of the most violent on that side of
"the question, appeared to us to be delicious;
"all that their adversaries objected, abominable.
"Fox, Sheridan, and Grey, were in our eyes
"nothing but infamous jacobins; we never called
"them by any other name."—"Very well," said
the Emperor; "now return to George III."

"This virtuous prince was excessively partial
"to private life and rural occupations; he de-
"voted all the time he could spare from the bu-
"siness of the state to the cultivation of a farm a
"few miles from London; he never returned to
"the capital except for his regular levées, or ex-
"traordinary councils required by circumstances;
"and he immediately returned to his fields,
"where he lived without pomp, and like an
"honest farmer, as he said himself. All intrigues
"were left in town, about the ministers, and
"amongst them.

"George III. had many domestic troubles. His
"sister was Matilda Queen of Denmark, whose
"story forms so melancholy a romance; his two

" brothers caused him many vexations by their " marriages; and he had not reason to be per- " fectly satisfied with his eldest son.

" The two brothers of George III. were the " Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Glouces- " ter. I often saw the latter in private society; " he was the worthiest, most polite, and honour- " able gentleman in England. Both these illus- " trious individuals, according to the spirit of the " British constitution, were entirely strangers to " public business. The King heard that one of " them had married, or was about to marry a " private individual. This was a great crime in " his estimation; he had himself made a great " sacrifice to avoid committing it. He was ex- " tremely angry; and whilst he was sending a " message to Parliament against the brother who " had thus given offence, he was informed that " the other had eloped to Calais for a similar " purpose. It was like a fatality, an absolute " epidemic, for it was at the same time reported " on all sides, that the heir apparent himself was " also secretly married."—" What," said the Emperor, " the Prince of Wales!"—" Yes, Sire, " himself: his marriage was every where talked " of, but with circumstances not sufficiently cer- " tain for me to venture to repeat them; the fact, " however, seemed generally acknowledged. But " as the Prince afterwards caused it to be con- " tradicted in Parliament, through the medium of

" the opposition, we are bound after that to be-
" lieve him.

" I have it, however, from the mouth of a very
" near relation of his pretended wife, that the
" matter was positively so. I heard this person
" give way to the most violent rage on the solemn
" marriage of the prince, and threaten to resort
" to personal violence. It might, therefore, be
" considered a contested point, which was un-
" avoidably represented according to party spirit;
" some obstinately maintaining the reality of the
" marriage, whilst others denied it in the most
" violent manner. Perhaps this contradiction
" might be reconciled by the consideration that
" the person he was said to have married, Mrs.
" Fitzherbert, was a Catholic. This circum-
" stance rendered the marriage impossible in the
" eyes of the law, and perfectly void with respect
" to the heir to the throne. However this may
" be, I have often met Mrs. Fitzherbert in com-
" pany: her carriage bore the Prince's arms, and
" her servants wore his livery. This lady was
" much older than himself; but beautiful, agree-
" able, of a powerful mind, and haughty, impatient
" temper, which often involved her in disputes
" with the Prince, and gave rise, it was said, to
" scenes of violence not very becoming such ele-
" vated rank. It was during one of the last
" quarrels of this kind, when, they say, Mrs.
" Fitzherbert had obstinately kept the door shut

"against the Prince, that Mr. Pitt dexterously "took the opportunity of persuading him to con- "sent to a marriage with the Princess of Bruns- "wick."—"But stay," said the Emperor, "you "go too fast; you pass over what chiefly interests "me. Under what auspices did the Prince of "Wales enter into life? What was there peculiar "in his political conduct, his situation with "regard to the opposition, and so forth?"— "This Prince, Sire, came before the public with "all the advantages of countenance, person, and "mind. He was greeted with universal enthu- "siasm; but he soon evinced those inclinations, "and began to act that part which seemed neces- "sarily imposed on great lords in the middle of "the last century. The madness of gaming, and "its consequent embarrassments; table and other "excesses; and, above all, a set of companions "disapproved of by the public. Then it was "that all generous hearts were grieved; hope "was blighted, and the middling class, which "in every country really constitutes the nation, "and which it must be confessed, is in England "the most moral population of all Europe, de- "spaired of the future. It was a received adage "in England, amongst the lower classes in parti- "cular, that the Prince of Wales would never "reign; the fortune-tellers and witches, it was "said, must have foretold it to himself.

"The opposition, into whose arms he had

" thrown himself, as heirs presumptive too fre-
" frequently do; the opposition, whose stay and
" hope he was, perhaps trying to deceive them-
" selves, when this misconduct was mentioned
" to them, used to get through it by saying, that
" he would be another Henry V.; that Henry V.
" had been extremely dissipated when Prince of
" Wales; but that he became the greatest King
" the monarchy had produced; and thence they
" concluded that the Prince of Wales would make
" one of their greatest kings."—" But did he adopt
" the revolutionary party and defend our modern
" ideas?" said the Emperor. " No, Sire; as the
" fever of revolutionary principles increased, de-
" cency compelled him to withdraw by degrees
" from the opposition which defended them. He
" relinquished all ostensible alliance, and filled up
" the void of his life by giving himself up to plea-
" sure and its attendant difficulties. He was con-
" stantly overwhelmed with debts, although par-
" liament had already paid them several times.
" By these encumbrances he was greatly em-
" barrassed, and his character and popularity were
" endangered. It was whilst thus involved, and
" during a quarrel with Mrs. Fitzherbert, that
" Mr. Pitt got hold of him, offering to pay his
" debts again, if he would adopt his father's
" views, and consent to marry. He was obliged
" to submit to all that was prescribed, and the
" hand of the Princess of Brunswick was asked

" and obtained. But during the short interval of " the negociation, a celebrated woman who had " long aspired to govern the prince, finding the " place vacant, occupied it herself. It is pre- " tended that she has said she had sought this " connection for twenty years; for she was much " older than himself, a circumstance which seemed " like a peculiar taste in this family, having also " been remarked in several of his brothers. This " person was immediately appointed Lady of the " Bed-chamber to the future Princess of Wales; " she even went to meet her and bring her to " England. It was under such auspices, such " malignant influence, that the bride landed on " the British shore. Accordingly, it is positively " asserted that this unhappy princess had not " even the whole twenty-four hours of enjoyment, " still less that privileged period emphatically " called by the English the Honey Moon. From " the very day after her marriage, ridicule, neglect, " and contempt were her portion."

" All who possessed the least spark of gene- " rosity or morality in England took her part, " and loudly exclaimed against the manner in " which she was treated. The greater share of " the odium, however, fell on Lady J—— who " was accused of having bewitched the prince. " She became the object of public execration; " yet the Prince, it was declared could not plead " the excuse of illusion or blindness; for it is said,

" that after a very gay entertainment amongst " his jovial companions, one of them was led, in " the course of conversation, to say that he knew " the *Madame de Merteuil* of the *Leaisons Dan-* " *gereuses*. Many of the others immediately cried " out that they also knew one: upon this, it is " said, the Prince proposed, for a frolic, that " each should write his secret separately. All the " notes were thrown into a vase; and the name " of Lady J—— was found written on every one " of them; the Prince himself, not having looked " for such unanimity, or expected to be disco- " vered, had written this name as well as the rest.

" I knew this Lady J —— and it must be con- " fessed that her face and whole appearance were " so little indicative of her age, that it could not " easily have been suspected. She had all the " charms of early youth, heightened with all the " grace of the most elegant manners; and I am " bound to say, that in the circles in which I saw " her, she even possessed a sort of attractive kind- " ness; whether the manners of her class render " the disposition indulgent, or whether she did " not in fact deserve all the reproaches with " which she was loaded.

" The Prince of Wales seems to have possessed " a peculiar faculty, a gift which the English call " the power of fascination. He is endowed with " it in the highest degree; one would think that " his will was sufficient to reclaim the attachment

" of the multitude, and as it were to corrupt
" public opinion. His history is full of those
" losses and returns of popularity; and, perhaps,
" it is the certainty of being able to command
" this sort of success that has so often led him, as
" his detractors say, to disregard public opinion.
" His enemies have said that he has carried this
" species of courage to absolute heroism. They
" have censured him for his hardihood, in per-
" sisting, whilst lying himself under the reproach
" of an irregular life, in accusing his wife of that
" conduct of which he set the example; an in-
" consistency which ought, undoubtedly, to be
" attributed to the fatal suggestions of pernicious
" counsellors, inimical to his glory and tranquil-
" lity. It is at least certain, that the basest cor-
" ruption, the aid of the laws, and the influence
" of the heir to the throne, were all employed
" against the Princess, and all in vain: a circum-
" stance which, it is said, used to torment the
" Prince and expose him to ridicule. People
" laughed at his unprecedented ill-luck, in being
" unable to prove, with all his endeavours, what
" so many husbands would give so much to con-
" ceal. Hatred increased on every new defeat,
" and with it the sufferings of the victim. She
" was reduced, at last, to a sort of banishment,
" to a place a few miles from London; she was
" deprived of her daughter; she was insulted in
" the sight of the allied Sovereigns when they

"visited London. But the expression of the "feelings of the multitude was always ready to "avenge her, and it became necessary to get her "to quit England; which she was induced to do "voluntarily, by the aid, perhaps, of the perfidi- "ous insinuations of some pretended friend."

Here the Emperor again interrupted me, saying that I was leaving out a very essential point. "When and how had the Prince attained the "Royal authority? How had he arranged mat- "ters with the opposition? What had he done "with those old friends?" "Sire," I replied, "my information ends here. There was a time "when political events induced your Majesty to "cut off all intercourse between England and "France. We no longer obtained the papers; "we were prevented from receiving letters; the "two nations had no longer any thing in common. "There is, therefore, an actual blank in my in- "telligence, which I should be unwilling to fill "up with mere conjectures. I understand, how- "ever, that after several recoveries and relapses "of the old King, all parties at length agreed to "consign the regency to the Prince of Wales, and "place him in full possession of the sovereign "authority. The long expected period of changes "and of hopes was at length arrived. The gates "of heaven were now to open, at length, to that "opposition which had so long eulogized the "Prince; to those old friends who had seemed

" from infancy to unite their fate with his. But " to the great and universal surprise of the nation, " and through I know not what contrivance of " Lord Castlereagh, nothing was altered. Those " old ministers, who had so long been the objects " of the Prince's dislike and censure, kept their " places, and those intimate and dearly beloved " friends, who had so long been caressed, re- " mained out of office.

" The opposition complained loudly; but they " were laughed at, and told that when the wild " Prince of Wales became a great King, his first " care was to get rid of his old companions. The " jest might be a very good one; but by no means " applicable; for the greatest characters in the em- " pire were at the head of this opposition; and " they were far from being Falstaffs or profligates " of that kind. From that instant they evinced " a marked coolness towards the Prince: some " would no longer see him; others refused his " invitations, or repelled the advances he made " them. It is said, however, that one of them " suffered himself to be persuaded to go to dine " in private with the Prince. The latter recur- " ing to his usual victorious weapons, endeavoured " to prove to him, with his accustomed grace, " that he could not have acted differently; and at " length desired to be told of what his old friends " could justly accuse him. The guest, whose " heart was still swelling with indignation, seized

" the opportunity, and freely told him all his " faults, with such warmth, that the Princess " Charlotte, who was at table, and was perhaps " secretly inclined towards the guest's opinion, " burst into tears. Lord Byron heard of this " scene the next day, and consecrated the event " in these celebrated verses:—

" Weep, daughter of a royal line,
" A Sire's disgrace, a realm's decay;
" Ah happy! if each tear of thine
" Could wash a father's fault away!
" Weep, for thy tears are virtue's tears,
" Auspicious to these suff'ring isles;
" And be each drop, in future years,
" Repaid thee by thy people's smiles."

" In 1814, at the time of my visit to London, " I had the honour of being presented to the " Prince of Wales at Carlton House."—" And " what the devil did you want there?" said the Emperor. " I do not wonder that your Majesty " is surprised; but I was induced by a sort of " point of honour: I thought I could do no other. " There were many French at London at that " time; I was the only one who had been near " your Majesty's person, worn your colours, and " followed the line of conduct which seemed to " be censured at that period. Some one having " told me that the others would certainly not en- " dure my presence, that circumstance determined " me to go. We were, in fact, twenty-two " Frenchmen, presented at the same time, at one

" of the Prince's grand levees ; and I must say that " I never saw more graceful manners, more pleas- " ing expression, more harmony in the *tout-en-* " *semble ;* I thought him the *beau-ideal* of elegance. " I comprehended the full power, the whole truth " of that magic fascination which I had so often " heard attributed to him ; and even at this mo- " ment, Sire, when I recollect that fine counte- " nance, on which I thought I perceived elevation " of mind, and the love and desire of glory, I " cannot help asking myself how your Majesty " comes to be here, how those atrocious ministers " could induce him to declare himself the gaoler, " the . . . . . ?" " My dear Sir," said the Em- peror, " perhaps you were no physionomist ; you " took the halo of coquetry for that of greatness ; " the study to please for the love of glory ; and, " besides, the love of glory is not exactly in the " face ; it is in the recesses of the heart, and " you did not search there. *

" But were you not translating to me, the other " day," said the Emperor, " some journal or " work, in which it was stated that the Prince

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* Since this was said, the great victim has fallen. I, his servant, saw his torments begin ; others have communicated to me his last sufferings and protracted agonies. He expired ! His enemies never ceased to strike him, in the name of the Prince ! This immortal victim accordingly left with his own hand, these dreadful words : " I *bequeath the infamy of my death to the* " *reigning family of England !* "

" Regent had made a great display of sympathy " towards the last Stuarts; that he had paid the " most extravagant prices for things that had be- " longed to, and been left by them; that he had " talked of raising a monument to the last of " them? There is much more calculation than " magnanimity in all that; it is because he is " anxious to establish and consecrate their ex- " tinction. From that event his legitimacy and " security date; and he is in the right. If in my " time, and under the circumstances into which " the English ministers had plunged the nation, " there had been some young Stuart, of a brave " and enterprising character, equal to the present " age, he would have been landed in Ireland, es- " corted by the modern doctrines; and then we " should undoubtedly have seen the regenerate " Stuarts driving out the . . . . . Brunswicks. " England would have had its 20th of March. " Such are thrones and their contagious influence; " scarcely is one seated there when the poison " begins to operate. These Brunswicks, brought " in by liberal ideas, raised by the will of the " people, have scarcely ascended the throne, when " they grasp at arbitrary and despotic power; " they must absolutely drive their wheels in the " track which overturned their predecessors; and " this because they are become Kings! And it " should seem that this is the inevitable course! " That fine stem of the Nassaus, for instance,

" those patrons of noble independence in Europe,
" whose liberalism ought to be in the blood, and
" even in the marrow of their bones; those
" Nassaus, who, as far as regards their dominions,
" would be only at the tail, and who might by
" their doctrines, place themselves at the head,—
" they have just been placed on a throne; well,
" you will infallibily see them concern themselves
" about nothing but becoming what they call legi-
" timates; and adopt the principles, the proceed-
" ings, and the errors of that class. Nay, after
" all, my dear Sir, has not the same thing been
" said of me, myself? and perhaps not without
" some appearance of reason; for, probably many
" circumstances may have escaped my observa-
" tion. Nevertheless I declared, on a solemn oc-
" casion, that in my estimation the sovereign
" power was not in the title, nor the throne in
" its splendour. It has been said of me, that
" scarcely had I attained power, when I exercised
" a despotic and arbitrary sway; but it was rather
" a Dictatorship; and the circumstances of the
" times will be a sufficient excuse for me. I have
" also been reproached with having suffered my-
" self to be intoxicated with pride at my alliance
" with the house of Austria, and having thought
" myself more truly a sovereign after my marriage;
" in fact, of having considered myself from that
" time as Alexander, become the son of a god!
" But can all this be just? Did I really fall into

"such errors? A young, handsome, agreeable "woman, fell to my lot; was it inadmissible for "me to testify some satisfaction? Could I not "devote a few moments to her without incurring "blame? Was I not to be allowed to abandon "myself to a few hours of happiness? Was I "required to use my wife ill from the very first "night, like your Prince . . . . . ? Or was I, "like the Sultan we have read of, to have her head "struck off, in order to escape the reproaches of "the multitude? No! my only fault in that al- "liance was that of carrying too plebeian a heart "with me. How often have I said that the heart "of a statesman ought only to be in his head. "Mine, unfortunately, in this instance, remained "in its place, subject to family feelings, and this "marriage ruined me; because I believed, above "all things, in the religion, the piety, the mora- "lity and honour of Francis I. He has cruelly "deceived me. I am willing to believe he was "himself deceived; and I forgive him with all "my heart. But will history spare him? If, "however, ..."

Here Napoleon was silent for a few moments, resting his head on one of his hands; then resuming, "But what a romance is my life!" said he, rising. "Open the door, and let us walk." And we walked up and down the adjoining rooms for some time.

My Son's fall from his Horse.—Pillage in War.—Character of the French Soldier.—Particulars relating to Waterloo, by the New Admiral.

Monday July 1st to Thursday 4th.—Yesterday my son's horse ran away with him, whilst he was taking a ride; and being fearful the horse might dash him against the trees, he thought it best to throw himself off his back. He had sprained his foot sufficiently to condemn him to the sofa for a month.

The Emperor condescended to come into my room, about 11 o'clock, to learn the state of my son, whom he rated well for his aukwardness. I followed him into the garden, where he breakfasted, which he had not done there for some time previously.

The conversation turned on pillage by armies, and the horrors occasioned by it.

Pavia, the Emperor said, was the only place he had ever given up to pillage; he had promised it to his soldiers for 24 hours; "but after three "hours," said he, "I could bear it no longer, and I "put an end to it. I had but 1,200 men," said he, "the cries of the populace which reached "my ears, prevailed. If there had been 20,000 "soldiers, their numbers would have drowned "the complaints of the people, and I should have "heard nothing of it. Happily, however, policy "and morality are equally opposed to the system

" of pillage. I have meditated much on this sub-
" ject: and have often been urged to gratify my
" soldiers in this manner. But nothing is so
" certain to disorganize and completely ruin an
" army. A soldier loses all discipline as soon as
" he gets an opportunity to pillage; and if by
" pillage he enriches himself, he immediately
" becomes a bad soldier, and will not fight. Be-
" sides," continued he, " pillage is incompatible
" with our French manners; the hearts of our
" soldiers are not bad; when the first transport
" of fury is over, they come to themselves again.
" It would be impossible for French soldiers to
" pillage for twenty-four hours, many of them
" would employ the latter part of the time in
" repairing the mischief they had done in the
" beginning. They afterwards reproach each
" other, in their quarters, with the excesses they
" have committed, and load with reprobation and
" contempt those whose conduct has been parti-
" cularly odious."

About three o'clock the new Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and all his officers, were presented to the Emperor. The Admiral first conversed with the Emperor alone, for nearly two hours. He must have been much impressed with this conversation, for he said, as he came out, that he had been taking a very fine and valuable lesson on the history of France.

The Emperor was understood to have said to

him, towards the close of the interview, what I believe I have already introduced elsewhere on this subject. "You have levied a contribution of "700 millions from France; I have imposed one "of more than 10,000 millions on your country. "You raised yours by your bayonets: I caused "mine to be raised by your parliament." "And "that is the true summary of the matter," replied the Admiral.

The Admiral was bringing from America some old troops consisting of 12,000 men, without the least suspicion of the new state of Europe. At sea a vessel informed him of the return of the Emperor from the isle of Elba, and the consequent revolution; it seemed to him so magical that he could scarce believe it. But when he arrived in sight of Plymouth, he received orders to proceed, with all possible expedition, to Ostend; he reached it in time, and 4,000 of the men on board his ships were enabled to take part in the battle, and they were unquestionably amongst the best troops in the whole line, as the Admiral declared. Who can determine what degree of influence they may have had? The English thought the battle lost, during the whole day, and they acknowledge that it would have been so, but for Grouchy's error.

Anecdotes on the 18th, Brumaire.—Sieyes.—Grand Elector.—Cambaceres.—Lebrun, &c.

After walking some time in the garden, the Emperor got into his calash. The weather was delightful; we made two turns at full gallop. I was alone with him. He spoke much of my son, and his future prospects, with a degree of interest and kindness which went to my heart. He said that considering his age, the circumstance of being sent to St. Helena was of inestimable value to his future life; that it must be like a hot-house for bringing forward his character.

After dinner, the Emperor resumed the subject of the 18th Brumaire, and related it to us with an infinite number of minor details. As he has long since dictated it to General Gourgaud, I shall refer to his publication for the mass of the particulars of this event. I shall only give here some little anecdotes or accessories which possibly may not be found there.

Napoleon's situation, on his return from Egypt, was unprecedented. He had found himself immediately applied to by all parties, and had been entrusted with all their secrets. There were three which were particularly distinct; the *Manege*, of which General J. was one of the leaders; the *Moderates*, directed by Sieyes; and the *Rotten* party, with Barras at their head.

The determination which Napoleon formed to

ally himself with the Moderates, exposed him, he said, to great danger. With the Jacobins he would have risked nothing; they offered to name him Dictator. "But after conquering with them," observed the Emperor, "it would have been ne-
"cessary, almost immediately, to conquer against
"them. A club cannot endure a permanent chief;
"it wants one for every successive passion. Now
"to make use of a party one day, in order to
"attack it the next, under whatever pretext
"it is done, is still a piece of treachery; it was
"inconsistent with my principles."

"My dear Sir," said the Emperor to me, at another moment, after having again run over the events of the 18th of Brumaire, "that is a far
"different thing, you will allow, from the con-
"spiracy of St. Real, in which there is much
"more plotting, and much less result; ours
"was struck at a single blow. It is certain that
"there never was a great revolution which
"caused less inconvenience; it was so generally
"desired; it was accordingly crowned with uni-
"versal applause.

"For my own part, all my share in the plot for
"effecting this change, was confined to the as-
"sembling the whole crowd of my visitors at the
"same hour in the morning, and marching at their
"head to seize on power. It was from the
"threshold of my door, from the top of my own
"steps, and without my friends having any pre-

"vious knowledge of my intentions, that I led "them to this conquest; it was amidst the bril- "liant escort they formed, their lively joy, and "unanimous ardour, that I presented myself "to the bar of the ancients, to thank them for "the Dictatorship with which they invested me.

"Metaphysicians have disputed, and will long "dispute, whether we did not violate the laws, "and whether we were not criminal; but these "are mere abstractions, at best fit for books and "tribunes, and which ought to disappear before "imperious necessity; one might as well blame "a sailor for waste and destruction, when he cuts "away his masts to avoid being overset. The "fact is, that had it not been for us the country "must have been lost; and we saved it. The "authors and chief agents of that memorable "state transaction may and ought, instead of de- "nials or justifications, to answer their accusers "proudly, like the Roman, *We protest that we have "saved our country; come with us and return thanks "to the gods.*"

On the completion of the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, three provisional consuls were appointed; Napoleon, Sieyes, and Ducos. A president was to be chosen, the moment was critical, and rendered the General highly necessary; he accordingly seized the arm chair, and his two acolytes did not venture to dispute it with him. Besides, Ducos declared himself that

moment, once for all. The General alone could save them, he said: and thenceforth he was of his opinion in every thing. Sieyes was greatly mortified, but he was obliged to do the same.

Sieyes was a man of a very interested character: on the first meeting of the three Consuls in Council, and as soon as they were alone, Sieyes went in a mysterious manner to the doors of the apartment, to see whether any person was within hearing; then returning to Napoleon, he said to him with complacency, and in an undertone, shewing him, at the same time, a sort of cabinet, "Do you see that pretty piece of furniture? You "do not, perhaps, suspect how valuable it is?" Napoleon thought he was directing his attention to some appendage of the crown, which had, perhaps, been used by Louis XVI. "That is not the matter;" said Sieyes, seeing his mistake, "I am "going to let you into the secret; it contains 800,000 francs!" and his eyes opened wide. "In our Directorial magistracy, we reflected that a Director going out of office, might very possibly go back to his family without a denier; a very unbecoming thing; we therefore invented this little chest, from which we drew a sum for every Director going out of office. There are now no more Directors; we are therefore the possessors of the remainder. What shall we do with it?" Napoleon, who had paid great attention, and began, at length, to understand, said: "If it

" comes to my knowledge, the sum shall go to " the public treasury; but if I should not hear " of it, (and I know nothing of it yet) you and " Ducos, being two old Directors, can divide it " between you: only make haste, for to-morrow " it might perhaps, be too late. The colleagues " did not wait to be told twice," observed the Emperor, " Sieyes hastily undertook the opera- " tion, and divided the spoil like the lion in the " fable. He made several lots; he took one as " the eldest Director; another, because he was " to have continued in office longer than his col- " league; a third, because he had suggested the " idea of this happy change, &c. In short he ad- " judged 600,000 francs to himself, and only sent " 200,000 to poor Ducos, who when his first " emotions had subsided, insisted on revising this " calculation, and seemed bent on quarrelling " with Sieyes. Both of them reverted to the " subject every moment, wishing their third col- " league to arbitrate between them; but the " latter always replied,—settle it between your- " selves. Above all, be quiet; for if the matter " should come to my ears, you would have to " give up the whole.

" When we were about to fix on a constitution," said the Emperor, " Sieyes treated us with ano- " ther very entertaining scene. Circumstances " and public opinion had made him a sort of " oracle in these matters; he accordingly un-

" folded his various propositions in the com-
" mittees of the two councils, with great mystery,
" importance and method; they were all adopted,
" good, imperfect, or bad. Finally, he crowned
" the work by displaying the summit, which had
" been expected with lively and anxious impati-
" ence, he proposed a Grand Elector, who was
" to reside at Versailles, to enjoy six millions
" per annum, to represent the national dignity,
" and to have no other functions than the nomi-
" nation of two Consuls, one for peace and the
" other for war; entirely independent in their
" functions. Moreover, if this Elector should
" make a bad choice, the Senate was to *absorb*
" him himself. This was the technical expres-
" sion, meaning, to remove him, by replacing him
" as a punishment, in the crowd of private citi-
" zens."

Napoleon for want of experience in assemblies, and also through a degree of circumspection which the circumstances of the moment required, had taken little or no share in what had preceded; but now, at this decisive point, he began, he said, to laugh in Sieyes's face, and to cut up all his metaphysical nonsense without mercy. Sieyes did not like to defend himself, said the Emperor, nor did he know how to do it. He made the attempt, however, saying, that after all, a king was nothing more. Napoleon replied, " But you " take the abuse for the principle, the shadow for

" the body. And how can you imagine, M. Seiyes, " that a man of any talent, or the least honour, " will resign himself to act the part of a pig fat- " tening on a few millions?" After this sally, which, said the Emperor, made those who were present laugh immoderately, Sieyes remained overwhelmed; it was no longer in his power to resume the subject of his Grand-Elector; and a First Consul was determined on, who was to have the supreme decision and the nomination of all offices; with two accessory Consuls, who were to have deliberative voices only. It was in fact, from that moment, an unity of power. The First Consul was precisely the President of America, veiled under the forms which the irritable spirit of the times still rendered necessary. The Emperor accordingly said, that his reign began in reality from that day.

The Emperor in some measure regretted that Sieyes had not been nominated one of the consuls. Sieyes, who at first refused the appointment, afterwards regretted it himself, but not until it was too late. " He had fallen into a mistake respect- " ing the nature of these consuls," said Napoleon; " he was fearful of mortification, and of having the " first consul to contend with at every step; which " would have been the case, if all the consuls had " been equal; we should then have all been ene- " mies: but the constitution having made them

" subordinate, there was no room for the struggles " of obstinacy, no cause of enmity, but a thousand " reasons for a genuine unanimity. Sieyes dis- " covered this, but too late." The Emperor said, he might have been very useful in council—better perhaps, than the others, because he had occasionally novel and most luminous ideas ; but that, in other respects, he was wholly unfit to govern. " After all," said the Emperor, " in order to govern " it is necessary to be a military man ; one can " only rule in boots and spurs. Sieyes, without " being fearful, was always in fear; his police " spies disturbed his rest." At the Luxembourg during the provisional consulate, he often awakened his colleague Napoleon, and harrassed him about the new plots which he heard of every moment from his private police. " But have they cor- " rupted our guard?" Napoleon used to say. " No." " Then go to bed.—In war, as in love, my dear " Sir, we must come to close quarters to con- " clude matters. It will be time enough to be " alarmed when our 600 men are attacked."

The Emperor said, that, for the permanent government, he had chosen, in Cambaceres and Lebrun, two distinguished characters; both prudent, moderate, and able, but of completely opposite principles. The one the advocate of abuses, prejudices, old institutions, the revival of honours and distinctions, &c. The other cold, austere, in-

sensible, contending against all these ideas, yielding to them without illusion, and naturally falling into ideology.

In resuming, he observed that Sieyes might perhaps have contributed to give a different colour, another characteristic to the imperial administration; but it was observed to him that this variation could not have been otherwise than injurious, for Napoleon's choice had been much approved of at the time. The men he had selected, it was said, were not liable to be objected to by Europe. They had greatly contributed to conciliate public opinion in France, which ran wholly against Sieyes. His name and the recollections attending it would, in the eyes of many people, have disgraced the acts in which he might have taken part; and there was an anecdote eagerly repeated at the time, which shews all the ill-will that was borne towards him. It was said, that whilst he was talking with the Emperor, at the Tuileries, about Louis XIV. he had suffered the word *tyrant* to escape him. "M. Abbé," the Emperor was said to have replied, "if Louis XVI. had been a tyrant, "you would now be saying mass, and I should "not be here." The Emperor smiled at this anecdote, without confirming or denying it. It will hereafter appear that it was false.

Fresh aggravations from the Governor.—His absurdities.

Saturday 6th to Monday 8th.—I have not mentioned the Governor for some time. We endeavoured to keep him as much as possible out of our thoughts; we now scarcely ever adverted to him. His ill-manners, and the vexations we endure from him oblige me to notice him to-day; they seem to have increased. He has just withheld from us some letters from Europe, although they came open, and in the most ostensible manner,—merely because they had not passed through the hands of the Secretary of State; without considering that a want of formality can easily be rectified in England; but that it is irremediable at a distance of two thousand leagues. If, however, in thus rigorously and literally fulfilling his instructions, he had only had the humanity to let us know that he has received these letters, and from whom they come, he might set our minds at ease with regard to those respecting whose health, or attention to ourselves, we suffer so much anxiety; but he has the barbarity to make a mystery of the affair. It is not many days since the Countess Bertrand having written to town, he had the note seized, and sent it back to her as having been written without his permission. He accompanied this insult with an official letter, by which he prohibited us, for the future, from all written or even verbal communication

with the inhabitants, without submitting it to his approbation; and what is particularly absurd and incredible, is, that he imposed this restriction on our intercourse with people whom he nevertheless permits us to visit at our own pleasure. He accompanied the publication of the act relating to us with commentaries which spread terror amongst the inhabitants; he complains of the excessive expense of the Emperor's table, and insists on great reductions.—It had not been understood that General Bonaparte would have so many people about him. Ministers, he told us ingenuously, had never doubted but that the permission they had sent us to go away, would have induced us to quit the Emperor. All this shuffling produced an exchange of pretty sharp notes. To one of the Governor's communications, in which he said, that if the restrictions imposed on us seemed to us too hard, we might relieve ourselves from them by going away, the Emperor himself dictated the following addition to the answer we had already written:—"That having been ho-
"noured by him during his prosperity, we consi-
"dered it our chief pleasure to serve him, now that
"he could do nothing for us; and if there were
"persons to whom this conduct was incomprehen-
"sible, so much the worse for them."

New vexations.—The Emperor seldom stirs out.—Tristan.—Lafontaine's Fables.—The belly rules the world.—Difficulty of judging of men.

Tuesday 9th to Thursday 11th.—The Governor continues to annoy us, and is incessantly aggravating the misery of our situation. He seems resolved to place us in close confinement. He has published a proclamation in town, ordering that all letters and notes addressed by us to the inhabitants, on any occasion whatever, shall be sent to him within twenty-four hours. He has also forbidden them to visit the Grand Marshal and his wife, who live at the entrance of our enclosure. In the beginning of this blockade of Madame Bertrand, it was so rigorously enforced, that some medicines sent hence by the doctor, for one of the Grand Marshal's people who was dying, could not be delivered; and it was only by way of accommodation that the officer at last took upon him to let them pass over the wall.

The Governor having read in a letter sent by one of us to Europe, that the writer wanted several articles of clothing, linen, &c. came and told him that he might have most of those articles out of the stores sent by Government for Napoleon: and the individual replying that he preferred purchasing them, being unwilling to incur any obligation; the Governor drily answered, that he might pay for them if he had a fancy to do so. To which the other replied, "Excuse me, Sir, I

"like to choose my shops myself." In consequence of this, the Governor afterwards sent him word by the Doctor, that he should complain of him, for having *contemptuously* refused the gifts of Government. The other instantly replied that he should be much obliged to him; being much happier to give him an opportunity of transmitting refusals, than requests, to the ministers he served.

All these petty tricks, the length and interest of our readings, and the continuance of the bad weather, which is dreadful, increase the Emperor's confinement to the house, and affect him with melancholy: he now never stirs abroad. His amusement is now confined to going occasionally, about five o'clock, to visit Madame de Montholon, who has not yet gone abroad since her lying-in. We all meet there, and the Emperor converses for half an hour, or three-quarters before he returns to his own apartment.

To-day he met little Tristan, the eldest son of M. de Montholon, who is only seven or eight years old, and runs about all day. The Emperor placed him between his two knees, and tried to make him recite some fables, of which the poor child did not understand two words out of ten. The Emperor laughed heartily, blaming the practice of putting La Fontaine into the hands of children who cannot understand him; and began to explain these fables to Tristan; endeavouring

to render their meaning more palpable to him; nor could any thing be more curious than the simplicity, justice, and logic of his illustrations.

Whilst he was explaining the fable of the wolf and the lamb, it was extremely laughable to hear the poor child say, *Sire*, and *your Majesty*, and in speaking of the wolf, and to the Emperor, confuse all his expressions; whilst his ideas were probably in still greater confusion.

The Emperor thought this fable had far too much irony in it to be within the comprehension of children. It was likewise defective, he observed, in its principle and its moral; and this was the first time that he had been struck with these defects. It was false that the argument of the stronger was always the best; and if it sometimes happened so, in fact, that, he said, was the very evil, the abuse, that was to be condemned. The wolf, ought, therefore, to have been strangled in devouring the lamb, &c.

Tristan is very idle. He confessed to the Emperor that he did not work every day. "Do you "not eat every day?" said the Emperor to him, "Yes, Sire." "Well, then, you ought to work "every day; no one should eat who does not "work." "Oh! if that be the case, I will work "every day," said the child, quickly. "Such "is the influence of the belly," said the Emperor, tapping that of little Tristan. "It is "hunger that makes the world move. Come my

" little man, if you are a good boy, we'll make a " page of you." " But I won't be one," said Tristan, pouting and looking angry.

Our afternoons were occupied in some piece of reading, selected in hopes of enabling us to kill an hour or two of time. At this period we were reading a voyage to Spitzbergen; the shipwreck of the Dutch at Nova Zembla; the celebrated Causes; the trial of Calas; those of Martinguerre, and the Marchioness of Brinvilliers. The author observed, in some part of the work, that the face often gave a false idea of the character. The Emperor paused, laid down the book, and said with a look and tone that denoted conviction; " It is most true, and it is also " true that no study will enable us to avoid this " deception. How many proofs of this kind have " I had! For instance, I had a person about me; " his countenance undoubtedly . . . . But " after all he had a mischievous eye; I ought to " have guessed something from that." He then went into some particulars of the character of the person in question. They had known each other from infancy, he said; he had long placed his entire confidence in this individual, who had talent and resources; the Emperor even thought that he had been attached and faithful—" But he " was much too covetous," said he, " he was too " fond of money. When I was dictating to him, " and he sometimes had to write *millions*, it was

"never without a peculiar change of counte-
"nance, a licking of his lips, and restlessness on
"his chair, which several times induced me to
"ask what ailed him."

The Emperor said this vice was too glaring to allow of his retaining this person about him. But that considering his other qualities, he ought, perhaps, to have contented himself with removing him into a different situation.

The Iron Mask, &c.—Ingenious Fiction.

Friday 12.—The conversation to-day led us to speak of the iron mask, and we took a review of what has been said on the subject by Voltaire, Dutens, and others; and of what is found respecting him in Richelieu's Memoirs. In these it is well known that he is said to have been the twin-brother of Louis XIV., and the elder of the two. On this occasion some one added, that being employed in making out a pedigree, a person had come to him to demonstrate seriously to him that Napoleon was a lineal descendant from this iron mask, and consequently the legitimate heir of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. in preference to Louis XIV. and all his issue. The Emperor also said that he had heard something about it, and added, that the credulity of mankind, and their love of the marvellous are so great, that it would not have been difficult to make out and substantiate something of the kind for the multitude,

and that there would not have been wanting certain persons in the Senate to sanction it; probably, he observed, the very men who at a later period were so eager to revile him, as soon as they saw him in adversity.

We then went on to trace the foundation and the progress of this story. The name of the Governor of the island of St. Marguerite, to whom the custody of the iron mask was entrusted, was M. de Bonpart, a circumstance, to begin with, very singular. This man, it was asserted, was aware of the origin of his prisoner. He had a daughter; she and the prisoner were both young; they saw each other and loved. The Governor having informed the Court of this circumstance, it was decided that there was no great objection to allowing the unfortunate captive to seek in love an alleviation of his misery, and they were married.

The person who was speaking at this moment said, that at the time the above particulars were related to him, he had been very much entertained by them, and had happened to say, that he thought the story very ingeniously imagined; upon which the narrator of it had become excessively angry, maintaining that the marriage could very easily be verified by the registers of one of the parishes of Marseilles, which he named. He added, that the children born of this marriage were silently and secretly conveyed to Corsica, where the dif-

ference of language, chance, or perhaps intention, had changed the name of Bonpart into Bonaparte and Buonaparte, which, after all, has the same meaning, and is in fact the same thing.

After this anecdote it was added, that at the time of the revolution a similar story had been made in favour of the Orleans branch. It was founded in a document found in the Bastille, and surmised that Ann of Austria, who was brought to bed after twenty-three years of sterility, had been delivered of a girl, and that Louis XIII. fearing she might have no more children, had been induced to put away that girl and falsely to substitute in her stead a boy which was Louis XIV.; that the following year, however, the Queen had been again brought to bed, and this time really of a boy, which boy was Philip, the head of the house of Orleans, who thus turned out to be with his descendants the legitimate heirs to the throne, whilst Louis XIV. and his issue were only intruders and usurpers. According to that story the iron mask was a girl. A pamphlet on this subject was circulated in the provinces at the time the Bastille was taken, but the story did not gain credit, and very quietly disappeared, without having, it seems, engaged the attention of the capital even for a moment.

Junot, his Wife, &c.

Saturday 13th.—The conversation again fell upon Junot. Of the considerable fortunes which the Emperor had bestowed, that of Junot, he said, was one of the most extravagant. The sums he had given him almost exceeded belief, and yet he was always in debt; he had squandered treasures without credit to himself, without discernment or taste, and, too frequently, the Emperor added, in gross debauchery.

He has been seen more than once after having taken a most copious and substantial breakfast, in his magnificent *hotel* at Paris, fired with anger at the most trifling demand made by the most insignificant creditor, to threaten to liquidate the debt with his sword. Every time he saw the Emperor, said Napoleon, it was to hint at some fresh embarrassment, be reprimanded and assisted. In the campaign of Austerlitz, he came to the Emperor at Schoenbrun; but this time, said Napoleon, it was not to intercede precisely for himself. He took at this period a most lively interest in the beautiful Madame Recamier. He had just arrived from Paris, and began his conversation with the Emperor by a most virulent philippic against M. de Marbois, then Minister of the Treasury, who had been base enough, he said, to refuse M. Recamier, a loan of only two mil-

lions, to save him from bankruptcy. All Paris was indignant. This Marbois, he added, was a wicked man, an unworthy servant, who did not love the Emperor. He, Junot, had gone to him and had used every endeavour to persuade him, but to no purpose. He had represented to him the enormity of his conduct, and had assured him, (and such added Junot was the general opinion in Paris,) that if the Emperor had been in the capital he would have immediately ordered the money to be given to M. Recamier. He was on a wrong scent, said the Emperor, for I coolly replied to this passionate lover who was almost out of his senses; "You " and Paris are both mistaken, I should not have " ordered even two thousand *sous* to be given; and " I should have been very much displeased with " De Marbois if he had acted otherwise than he " has done. *I* am not Madame Recamier's lover, " and I do not come forward to the assistance of " merchants who keep up an establishment of six " hundred thousands francs, per annum. Know " that, M. Junot, and learn also, that the Trea- " sury does not lend money to those whom it " knows to have been long since on the road to " bankruptcy; it has other claims to satisfy. " Junot," added the Emperor, " was obliged to " calm his emotion, thinking probably that there " were hard-hearted people at Vienna as well as " at Paris."

Junot travelled as fast as the Emperor himself; he had his inn-relays, said Napoleon, hundreds of horses, and other extravagances of the kind.

The Emperor added, that, not so much in his capacity as sovereign, but as being fond of Junot, and actuated also by a sort of feeling derived from the similarity of birth-place, he being also originally from Corsica, he had one day sent for Madame Junot in order to give her some paternal admonitions on the subject of the extravagance of her husband's expenditure, the profusion of diamonds which she herself had inconsiderately displayed after her return from Portugal, and her intimate connections with a certain foreigner, which might give umbrage in a political point of view, &c. &c. But she rejected this advice, dictated alone by concern for her interest. "She "grew angry," said the Emperor, "and treated "me like a child; nothing then remained for me "to do, but to send her about her business, and "abandon her to her fate. She fancied herself a "princess of the family of the Commenes; and "Junot had been made to believe it when he "was induced to marry her. Her family was "from Corsica, and resided in the neighbourhood "of mine; they were under great obligations "to my mother, not merely for her benevolence "towards them, but for services of a more po-"sitive nature." The Emperor then gave the following explanation:

"The Genoese, in evacuating the Morea, "had formerly carried a colony of Muniotes to "Corsica and settled them in the neighbourhood "of Ajaccio. M. de Vergennes, while he was "ambassador at Constantinople, married a Greek "woman; and on his return to France, being "greatly in favour with Louis XVI. he took it "into his head that he must have married a "princess. It so happened that some political "circumstances occurred to favour his wish; the "downfal of Constantinople was believed in at "that moment, and it would have suited France "to advance some pretentions to a portion of "that empire. A man of the name of Cummene, "a relation of Madame de Vergennes, was there-"fore sent for from the Greek colony near Ajaccio, "and having been brought to Versailles was soon "after by virtue of letters patent of Louis XVI. "acknowledged a descendant from the emperors "of Constantinople. This said Commene was a "good farmer, whose sister had unexpectedly "married, some years before, a Frenchman, a "clerk in the victualling department named P—. "After the elevation of the family, and through "the interest of M. de Vergennes, this P—, clerk "in the victualling department, had become a "man of great consequence, having had the con-"tract for supplying the whole army of Rocham-"beau. The daughter of the clerk was this very "Madame Junot, duchess of Abrantes.

"Junot in the campaign of Russia gave me "great cause of dissatisfaction," said the Emperor; "he was no longer the same man, and "committed some great errors which cost us "dear."

After the return from Moscow, Junot in consequence of the dissatisfaction he had given, lost the governorship of Paris; and the Emperor sent him to Venice. However that species of disgrace was almost immediately softened, by his appointment as governor-general of Illyria; but the blow was struck. The frequent incoherences which had been observed in Junot's behaviour for some time past, and which had arisen from the excesses in which he had indulged, broke out at last into complete insanity. They were obliged to seize him, and convey him home to his paternal mansion, where he died miserably shortly after, having mutilated his person with his own hands. . .

. . . . . .

Marshal Lannes.—Murat and his Wife, &c.

Sunday 14th.—During the dinner, speaking of dress, it was said that amongst the number of great personages of that time, none had carried the *ridicule* in that point further than Murat, and yet, some one observed, his dress was for the most part so singular and fantastic that the public called him king Franconi.*

* Director of a theatre at Paris similar to Astley's here.

The Emperor laughed very heartily, and confessed that certain costumes and manners sometimes gave to Murat the appearance of a quack operator or a mountebank. It was added, that Bernadotte also took infinite pains with his dress, and that Lannes bestowed much time upon his. The Emperor expressed himself much surprised at what he heard respecting the two latter, and this led him to repeat how sincerely he regretted the loss of Marshal Lannes; "Poor Lannes," said he, "had passed the night which preceded "the battle, in Vienna, and not alone. He ap- "peared on the field without having taken any "food, and fought the whole day. The physician "said that this triple concurrence of circum- "stances caused his death, he required a great "deal of strength after the wound to enable him "to bear it, and unfortunately nature was almost "exhausted before.

"It is generally said," the Emperor observed, "that there are certain wounds, to which death "seems preferable; but this is very seldom the "case, I assure you. It is at the moment we are "going to part with existence that we cling to "it with all our might. Lannes, the most cou- "rageous of men, deprived of both his legs, would "not hear of death, and was irritated to that "degree, that he declared that the two surgeons "who attended him, deserved to be hanged for "behaving so brutally towards a Marshal. He

" had unfortunately over-heard them whisper " to each other, as they thought without being " heard, that it was impossible he could escape. " Every moment the unfortunate Lannes called " for the Emperor; he twined himself round me," said Napoleon, " with all he had left of life; he " would hear of no one but me, he thought but " of me, it was a kind of instinct! Undoubtedly " he loved his wife and children better than me; " yet he did not speak of them: it was he that " protected them, whilst I on the contrary was " his protector. I was for him something vague " and undefined, a superior being, his providence, " which he implored!" . . . . . .

Somebody then observed, that the world had spoken very differently on the subject; that it had been reported that Lannes had died like a maniac, vociferating imprecations against the Emperor, at whom he seemed enraged; and it was added, that he had always had an aversion to the Emperor, and had often manifested it to him with insolence. " What an absurdity," said the Emperor, " Lannes on the contrary adored me. He " was assuredly one of the men on whom I could " most implicitly rely. It is very true that in the " impetuosity of his disposition he has some- " times suffered some hasty expressions against " me to escape his lips, but he would probably " have broken the head of any person who had " chanced to hear them."

Returning to Murat, some one observed that he had greatly influenced the unfortunate events of 1814. "He determined them," said the Emperor, "he is one of the principal causes of our "being here. But the fault is originally mine. "There were several men whom I had made too "great, I had raised them above the sphere of "their intelligence. I was reading, some days "since, his proclamation on abandoning the Vice-"roy, which I had not seen before. It is diffi-"cult to conceive any thing disgraced by a "greater degree of turpitude: he says in that "document that the moment is come to choose "between two banners, that of crime, or that of "virtue. It is my banner which he calls the "banner of crime! and it is Murat, my creature, "the husband of my sister, the man who owed "every thing to me, who would have been nothing "without me, who exists by me, and is known "through me alone—it is Murat who writes this! "It is impossible to desert the cause of misfor-"tune with more unfeeling brutality, and to run "with more unblushing baseness to hail a new "destiny."

From that moment, Madame (mother of the Emperor) refused to have any thing more to do with either Murat or his wife; to all their entreaties she invariably answered, that she held traitors and treachery in abhorrence. As soon as she was at Rome, after the disasters of 1814,

Murat hastened to send her eight magnificent horses out of his stables at Naples; but Madame would not accept them. She resisted in like manner every effort of her daughter Caroline, who constantly repeated that, after all, the fault was not hers; that she had no share in it; that she could not command her husband. But Madam answered, like Clytemnestra,—"If you "could not command him, you ought at least to "have opposed him:—but what struggles have "you made? what blood has flown? At the "expense of your own life you ought to have "defended your brother, your benefactor, your "master, against the sanguinary attempts of your "husband."

"On my return from Elba," said the Emperor, "Murat's head was turned on hearing that I had "landed in France. The first intelligence he re- "ceived of this event informed him that I was at "Lyons. He was accustomed to my great re- "turns of fortune; he had more than once seen me "placed in most extraordinary circumstances. On "this occasion he thought me already master of all "Europe, and determined to endeavour to wrest "Italy from me; for that was his object, the aim "of all his hopes. It was in vain that some men "of the greatest influence amongst the nations "which he attempted to excite to rebellion, threw "themselves at his feet and assured him that "he was mistaken; that the Italians had a king

" on whom alone they had bestowed their love
" and their esteem. Nothing could stop him;
" he lost himself, and contributed to lose us
" a second time; for Austria, supposing that
" he was acting at my instigation, would not
" believe my professions, and mistrusted me.
" Murat's unfortunate end corresponds with his
" conduct. Murat was endowed with extraor-
" dinary courage, and little intelligence. The too
" great disproportion between those two qua-
" lifications explains the man entirely. It was
" difficult, even impossible, to be more courageous
" than Murat and Lannes; but Murat had re-
" mained courageous and nothing more. The
" mind of Lannes, on the contrary, had risen to
" the level of his courage; he had become a giant.
" However," said the Emperor, in ending the conversation, " the execution of Murat is never-
" theless horrible. It is an event in the history
" of the morals of Europe; an infraction of the
" rules of public decorum.—A king has caused
" another king, acknowledged by all the others,
" to be shot! What a spell he has broken! . . .
. . . . . .

THE SUMMARY OF THE THREE MONTHS OF APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE.

I have already observed, that, in a work like the present, it is impossible to keep up in any point a unity of interest and of object; I shall, therefore, now attempt to supply this defect by retracing, in a very few words, and uninterruptedly, the circumstances of aggravation which have occurred in the Emperor's situation during these three months; the repeated instances of bad treatment to which he has been subjected; the visible decline of his health, the general tenor of his habits, the principal topics of his conversation;—in a word, the bulletin, both physical and moral, of his person, during that short space of time.

1st. A new Governor arrives, who turns out to be a man of either very narrow views, or very bad intentions—a corporal with his watch-word, instead of a general with his instructions.

2dly. A declaration is required from every one of the captives, that he submits beforehand to all the restrictions that may be imposed on Napoleon, and this in the hopes of detaching them from his person.

3dly. An official communication is made to us of the convention of the allied Sovereigns, who, without further ceremony, proclaim and consecrate the banishment of Napoleon.

4thly. We receive the bill of the British Parliament, which converts into a law the act of oppression of the English ministers towards the person of Napoleon.

5thly. Lastly, Commissioners come in the name of their Sovereigns, to watch over the fetters, and contemplate the sufferings of the victim. Thus our horizon grows darker and darker, our chains are shortened, all hopes of amelioration vanish, and the most gloomy prospects are all that the future presents.

The arrival of the new Governor is the signal for the infliction of greater hardships. For the person of the Emperor it is the commencement of a new series of torments; every day he is wounded by the recurrence of some petty vexation.

The first step of Sir Hudson Lowe is an *insult;* his first word one *of cruelty;* one of his first acts, an act of inhumanity.

After that, he seems to have no other occupation, to have received no other instruction, than to torment us and make us suffer under every shape, on every occasion, and in every way.

The Emperor, who had at first resolved to adopt a system of strict Stoicism, is nevertheless moved with indignation at this conduct, and expresses himself in strong terms. Conversations grow warm; the breach is made; it will grow wider every day.

The Emperor's health is visibly affected, and

we can observe a rapid alteration. Contrary to his natural temperament, he very frequently feels indisposed ; on one occasion he is confined to his room for six days running, without going out in the least. A secret melancholy, which endeavours to conceal itself from every eye, and perhaps from his own, begins to take possession of him ; the latent seeds of disease appear already to be lurking in his system. He contracts every day the circle, already so confined, of his movements and his diversions. He gives up riding on horseback ; he no longer invites any Englishmen to dinner,— he even abandons his daily occupations. The dictations in which he had hitherto seemed to take pleasure, are at a stand. Disgust had seized him, he would sometimes say to me, and he could not muster courage enough to resume them. The greatest part of his days is past in turning over some books in his own apartment, or in conversing with us either publicly or in private ; and in the evening, after his dinner, he reads to us some plays of our great poets, or any other work which chance or the choice of the moment brings to his hand.

Yet the serenity of his mind, the equanimity of his disposition towards us are not in the least impaired ; on the contrary, we seem more united like one family. He is more ours, and we belong more to him ; his conversations offer a greater degree of confidence, effusion, and interest.

He would now often send for me in his room, to converse with him; and these private conversations would sometimes lead him to subjects of great importance,—such as the war in Russia, that of Spain, the conferences of Tilsit and Erfurth, which will be found at that period of my Memoirs. And I must here make or repeat some observations, which I beg my readers will not lose sight of throughout this work, as they will serve to anticipate any reproaches or objections that might be suggested by the want of order, the scantiness and the imperfection observable in the relation of objects of so much importance.

The fact is, if I have not already said it, that, when conversing with the Emperor, either publicly or in private, I have never taken the liberty of making any observation, or of asking any explanation, even when they have appeared to me to be the most necessary; and this reserve I considered to be imposed upon me,

1st. By respect and decorum.

2d. By the fear of interrupting conversations always interesting and important.

3d. By the hope of seizing truth, as it were, on its passage, and thus catching its expression more naturally.

4th. By the persuasion which I entertained that I was henceforward resident and for ever near the person of the Emperor, and the certainty which I derived from this circumstance of hearing

the same things again repeated in course of time, which would afford me opportunities of rendering them more exact and more complete.

5th. Because the Emperor himself was some day to have seen my journal, and I felt assured, that, encouraged by what he would already find in its pages on those various points, he would make them the subject of regular dictations; but unfortunately I have been deprived of this advantage,—and what information have we not lost thereby!

6th. Lastly, and this has been one of my principal reasons, because the Emperor, being sometimes led, in the course of a long and quite familiar conversation, to touch upon subjects of the highest importance, did not relate them with a view to inform me, but most frequently merely to kill time, or for the sake of talking, and it might be added, of tautology, if such an expression could be used when applied to such a person and to such objects. He conversed with me on those topics as if I ought to have been as familiar with them as he was himself.

But I was a total stranger to these vast plans and these high conceptions, a circumstance however which I have convinced myself to have been also common to many of those who at the time of his power were nearest to his person, ay, even to his ministers; it therefore frequently happened

to him to say, on perceiving the considerable degree of surprise which the expression of my countenance betrayed, or perhaps on suddenly recollecting himself and knowing the state of the case; "But, perhaps, this is new to you?" To which the best reply I could make, in order to be true, was "Yes, Sire it is, and for the most part, "new altogether." How could I then on occasions of such inestimable value, go and aukwardly interrupt him to inform him that I found it difficult to follow him, or to understand him? By so doing I should most assuredly have displeased him, and rendered him unwilling to speak for the future, which would have been a great loss to me. I therefore let him go on, however I might sometimes wish for an explanation; and whatever I could collect in this first conversation appeared to me already of infinite value. I was aware that the Emperor was in the habit of frequently repeating the same things, and I flattered myself that I should learn more on other occasions, and that I should thus become sufficiently master of the subject, to be able at some future period to take the liberty of discussing it a little with him; a liberty which his goodness towards me during the latter part of the time I was with him would have condescended to allow me; and which would ever, I am sure, have been agreeable to him, as it would have awakened his ideas and

supplied new aliment to his conversation. But unfortunately my sudden and unexpected removal from his person has only left me the materials which I had collected up to that moment; and to the sorrow which I feel at having been torn from the exercise of those pious cares which had become the source of my happiness, will be now added eternal regret at having, perhaps, by my too great reserve, lost for History an opportunity which can never occur again.

I have been desirous of entering rather minutely into the above particulars, in order that it might be understood in what manner I have obtained a portion of these Memoirs, and that every reader might answer to himself why objects of such paramount importance have been presented in so imperfect a state.

However, if the future historian does not find in these pages the light which he seeks for, and which he might expect to find, frequent sparks will however arrest his attention, and invariably lead him into the right path; and from this particular circumstance I shall characterise my own work by saying, that it contains something of *every thing*, yet *nothing;* that there is *nothing*, and yet *every thing* in it. But in saying that there is *nothing* in it, I am assuredly mistaken, for it contains innumerable *traits* of the individual qualifications, the natural dispositions, the heart and the mind, of the extraordinary being to whom it

is consecrated; so that it will be henceforward impossible for any man of unprejudiced mind, who seeks honestly for the truth, not to be able to fix his opinion upon his character; and I beg the reader to recollect that such has been the only object I have had in view, the only one I have professed to fulfil.

Omission, p. 239, after line 24.—" I wish to raise the glory " of the French name to such a pitch as to make it the envy " of all nations. I will, with God's help, bring it to pass, " that in whatever part of Europe a Frenchman may travel, he " shall alway find himself at home."

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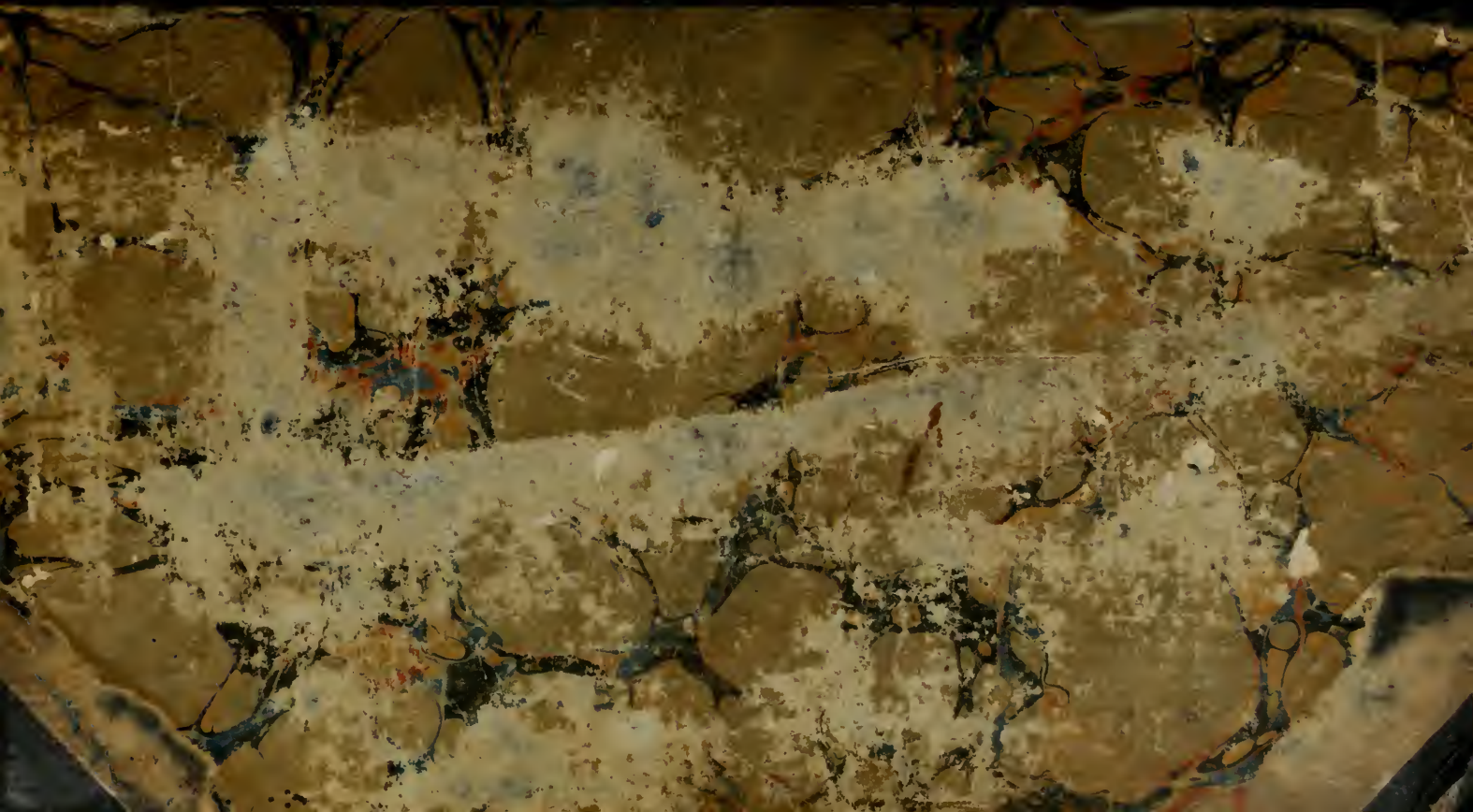
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